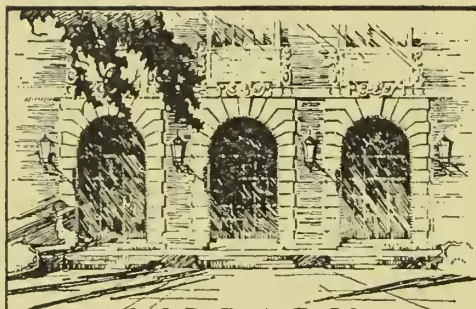


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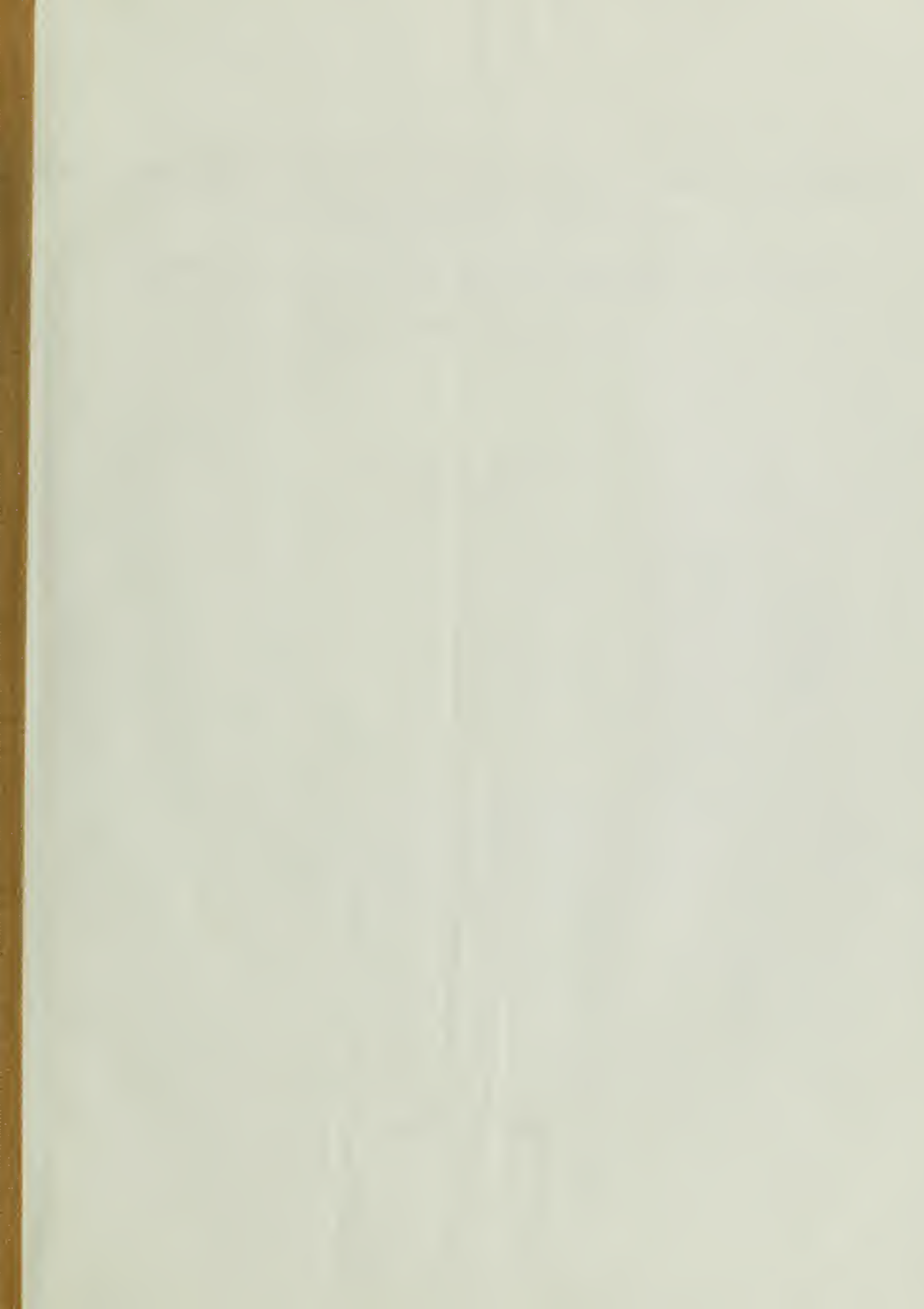
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ILLINOIS HISTORICAL SURVEY



Margaret J. Rose

THE AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY
IN RELATION TO THE
ANTISLAVERY CONTROVERSY IN THE
OLD NORTHWEST

Frederick Irving Kuhns

Research Historian

Billings, Montana

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ANTISLAVERY CONTROVERSY IN THE
OLD NORTHWEST

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1959

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Illinois Historical Survey

To My Parents

Ezra McFall Kuhns

Mary Elizabeth (Wogaman) Kuhns



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PREFACE

This little book consists of revised and extended sections of the author's doctoral dissertation, written at the University of Chicago in 1947. The chapter on slavery as an incubus on the efforts of the home missionaries of a hundred years ago to be fully convincing in their proclamation of the Christian Gospel was found to be too long for inclusion. It was, accordingly, abbreviated and in that form stands in the dissertation as accepted by the Committee. Portions of the material then passing through the author's hands were altered, and were published in the Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, vol. 24, pp. 205-222 (Philadelphia, Pa., 1946).

Subsequent intensive research brought a plethora of fresh facts, gleaned from many distinct types of source material, some unusual, and much of it inaccessible to the general reader, even to the specialist: manuscript letters, ecclesiastical records, rare periodicals, out-of-print books, newspapers listed or unlisted in the standard bibliographical and serials guides, besides a quantity of material librarians are pleased to describe with the term "fugitive." Additional college and university theses also have been examined as opportunities came to visit more distant campuses. It is a distinct pleasure to be able to acknowledge these aids in the Footnotes, as well as to add my special thanks to all those persons (though many have not been expressly named) who assisted throughout my quest for information. But I wish to record my heart-felt gratitude to the two presidents of Chicago Theological Seminary—the late Dr. Albert W. Palmer and Dr. Arthur C. McGiffert, Jr.—who made freely available and by their kindly counsel encouraged my unrestricted use of the magnificent resources of the Charles G. Hammond Library of that institution, including the priceless manuscript source collections on which my dissertation was based. Likewise in a grateful spirit I proffer my deep appreciation to the many departmental librarians of the University of Chicago; their efficient service was indispensable. The numerous source locations of the material—in college, university, seminary, historical, and special libraries, and in private hands—have also been provided as an aid to future students who may wish to form their own judgments in this or related fields of investigation.

The opportune moment, in the author's estimation, having arrived, he sends forth his book in the hope that in its pages the reader may discover how difficult it is for men of enlightened mind, good faith, and burning conscience fully to measure up to their commitment of Christian faith-in-action. For no one will fail to note that the men here met with were highly educated persons and trusted leaders in their special calling, many being among the most gifted and far-seeing in their day and generation. At once informed about their world, they were zealous in their search for "a better country" (Hebrews xi:16), inured to hardship, self-sacrificing to the ultimate degree, brave to claim the privilege of suffering, and quick to find their places wherein to stand on principle, doing so, fearlessly, in the name of Christ and for his sake. Their opinions, judgments, actions were born of a generous spirit tempered with consideration for those who could not bring themselves, much less be brought, to agree.

The writers here quoted from were men who felt called to preach the Christian Gospel in its fullness to others as fallible as themselves, and sharing equally in an

ongoing social process. The concerns and complexities of life troubled but did not dismay them, though they did not always, being human, make the right decisions. Grave matters of church and state were permitted to work upon their minds and mold their consciences; and, allowing their consciences to be their guides, the missionaries played their parts without compromising their moral principles.

The issues of their times (as in better perspective we see them now with greater clarity ourselves) bore not a little resemblance to those which disturb us as Americans no less today. In this parallel may be our instruction, and our warning.

Over the years since his ordination in 1930, the author has enjoyed the busy professional life of a Congregational pastor, church federation executive, contributing editor, state historical research associate, university professor, college chaplain, and college librarian. This book expounds a point of view which has been gained through successive and overlapping service periods in this vocation; the final draft was prepared at International House, the University of Chicago, during the summer of 1958. The author's vita will be found in Who's Who in American Education, Vol. XVIII, 1957-58, p. 643 (Nashville, 1957), and Who's Who in the Protestant Clergy, p. 136 (Encino, California, 1957).

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The Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan—the map prepared by the writer and published originally in MICHIGAN HISTORY, Volume 32, Number 2 (June, 1948), page 159;

Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio—A HISTORY OF OBERLIN COLLEGE FROM ITS FOUNDATION THROUGH THE CIVIL WAR, by Robert S. Fletcher (1943);

The Ohio Historical Society (The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society), Columbus, Ohio—THE FRONTIER STATE, 1803-1825, by William T. Utter (1942), and THE PASSING OF THE FRONTIER, 1825-1850, by Francis P. Weisenburger (1941);

The University of Chicago and the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois—RELIGION ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER, VOLUME III: THE CONGREGATIONALISTS, by William Warren Sweet (1939);

The Edward K. Warren Foundation, Three Oaks, Michigan—THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF THREE OAKS, 1844-1944, by Frederick Kuhns and Frederic Chamberlain (1944).

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The Chicago Theological Seminary (Congregational), Chicago, Illinois—the manuscript Papers of the American Home Missionary Society and other documents relating to Illinois Congregational church history;

The Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois—a letter from Owen Lovejoy to James G. Birney;

The McCormick Theological Seminary (Presbyterian), Chicago, Illinois--the manuscript minutes and records (or transcripts thereof) of various Illinois and Indiana presbyteries and synods, as cited in the text;

Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio—the manuscript records of the Congregational Association of Central Ohio, and those of the General Association of the Western Reserve (Congregational).

Also acknowledged and appreciated is the painstaking and efficient assistance of the librarians and staff members of the foregoing institutions, who made this material freely available upon the writer's application for its study.

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I. FREE OR HALF FREE?

The American Home Missionary Society, an interdenominational organization, voluntary in origin and national in scale, began its work in 1826, building on the foundations laid by the United Domestic Missionary Society (1822-1826). In so far as the region of the Old Northwest was concerned—the area here dealt with—the initial personnel consisted, in 1826, of 7 missionaries in Ohio, 4 in Indiana, 2 in Illinois, and 1 in Michigan Territory. The list of appointees grew rapidly until checked by the Panic of 1837 and by the schism in the Presbyterian Church in 1837-1838. In 1838, for example, there were 64 missionaries serving in Ohio, 29 in Indiana, 27 in Illinois, 22 in Michigan, and 2 in Wisconsin Territory (see Figure 1). By 1850 this number had tripled, but wide fluctuations were characteristic of the 1850's. On the eve of the Civil War, with a national total of 1,062 missionaries under the Society's appointment, 356 were laboring in the Old Northwest.¹

Most of these young men were Presbyterians, though some (chiefly in Ohio and Michigan Territory) were Congregationalists. As the years passed, the ratio turned in favor of the latter denomination, except in Indiana; there the Presbyterian element always preponderated. The principal seminaries which had contributed to their intellectual formation and spiritual outlook were Yale, Andover, Princeton, Auburn, and Lane. In time, graduates of other theological institutions entered the same field under the same auspices. Upon graduation and ordination, the home missionaries proceeded at once to their specific locations as directed by the Society in their commissions (itineration being disfavored), each being assured of a cash salary of \$100-200 annually (payable in quarterly drafts) but required to raise the remainder of his sustenance on his assigned field of labor.

Well schooled, idealistic, and unafraid to speak out for the truth as they saw it, the missionaries organized churches, conducted Sabbath schools, and founded colleges and female seminaries before the states in which they labored had seriously undertaken the work of enlightening the rapidly increasing population.² They were also family men, bringing their cultivated wives from places of affluence at the East to the privations of the raw frontier.

Antislavery to a man, the missionaries could not but feel that it was incumbent upon them as missionaries of Christ to be urgent to do something toward the amelioration of Negro slavery as that social, economic, and political institution was understood by them. Wherever they labored, whether at the South or in the Old Northwest, they were squarely confronted with perplexing and oftentimes mutually contradictory social situations occasioned by the stranglehold of slavery upon a very large portion of the nation, and tracing back to the diverse states of public sentiment prevalent in one region or another concerning the institution of slavery.

The present study is defined by the attention given the Old Northwest (Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin); but where the slavery question was referred from other states, its connection with, and its bearing upon, the conduct of home missionary operations has been taken account of, even though briefly.

It was chiefly owing to the Ordinance of 1787³ that Negro slavery failed to establish a permanent foothold in the Old Northwest (see Figure 2).⁴ Despite the fact that vestiges of slavery survived from the time of the French occupation of this region and the persistence of the indenture system in Illinois until after 1830, the appointees of the American Home Missionary Society seldom encountered slavery under either of these forms.⁵ In fact, those who labored in Ohio and Indiana communities situated on the Ohio River made no reference (in correspondence now extant) to contacts with the Negroes. This may appear as surprising in the light of a statement by Professor Weisenburger: "Tension between the blacks and the whites . . . was never completely absent from social, economic, and political life."⁶ For example, in 1829, with more than two thousand Negroes in Cincinnati, mob rule held sway for a time, and fully half that number, "with the aid of private funds," left for Canada. Again, about eighty Negroes were compelled to flee from Portsmouth, Ohio, to the Western Reserve when disorder threatened in January, 1830.⁷

Both Indiana and Illinois experienced tensions similar to those felt in Ohio by virtue of the presence of Negroes within the state lines.⁸ Ease of access to these states, opposite Kentucky, tempted many a fugitive slave to swim or be ferried across the Ohio River by night. And there was illicit traffic in stolen or kidnaped Negroes—property considerations in those days—with high rewards offered for their return to their masters. All the states northwest of the Ohio River felt an influx of this kind. Legal pettifoggery kept the Negroes from enjoying a legitimate and happy settlement in these "free" states; their presence was feared, and their occupational life, though it were never so humble and orderly, was always suspect.⁹ The main avenues of escape to Canada via the Underground Railroad were already being laid out, its operation being encouraged by those who spoke for law and order and pleaded for justice based on righteousness.

As already noted, the indentured service of Negroes had gained full legal status during the territorial period of Illinois history. Although the Constitution of 1818 forbade slavery, yet no guarantee had originally been provided against its amendment so as to sanction its introduction at a later date.¹⁰ Self-seeking interests always stood ready to breach the state's constitutional provisions against slavery by taking advantage of the exposed geographical position of Illinois in relation to the bordering slave states of Kentucky and Missouri.¹¹

Yet, when the voters were canvassed on the proposals to hold state conventions looking toward the approval of the necessary constitutional changes by which alone the question of legalizing the institution of slavery could be reopened, the said proposals were defeated in all three states—Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.¹²

The Society's missionaries, though encountering slavery but rarely in the Old Northwest yet living in close proximity to the slave system, had a full awareness of the serious nature of the problems confronting the churches on this score, and they did not propose to keep silence before this distressing social inequality. Indeed, as their own ranks were swelled by hundreds of enthusiastic recruits in the ensuing thirty-five years, their speech became as one resounding chorus demanding its total extinction as the nation's worst evil. Little did any of them foresee that a brilliant daughter of one of their staunchest supporters would give the world, a quarter of a century hence, her provocative Uncle Tom's Cabin. Less still was it to be imagined that the crusading wife of a sympathizer with the social aspects of missions would put the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" into their mouths as a political creed in the hour of the Union's gravest emergency. Nor had any political forecast made room for the fact that one of their own number—the Rev. Owen Lovejoy of Princeton, Illinois—would stand on the floor of the

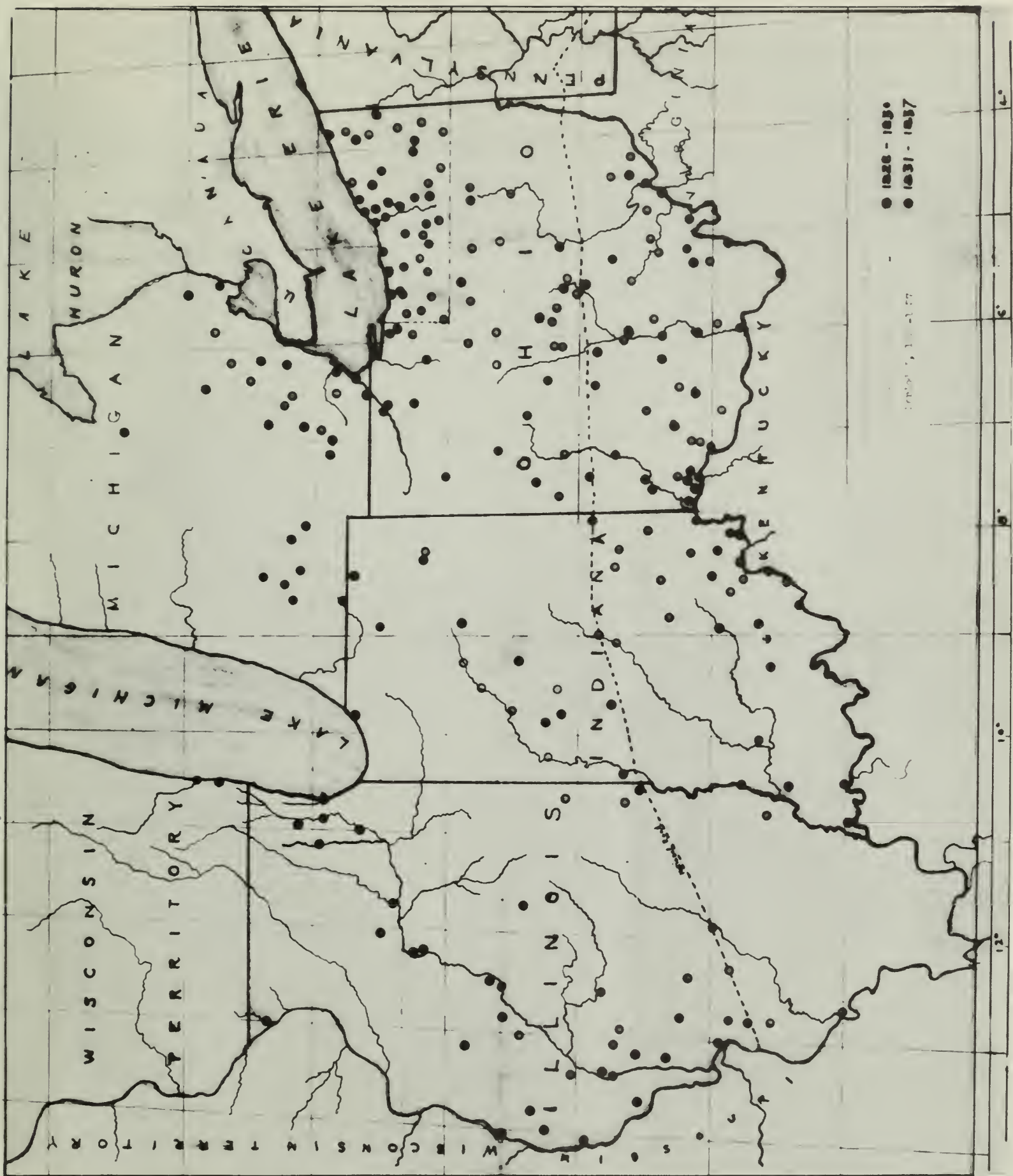
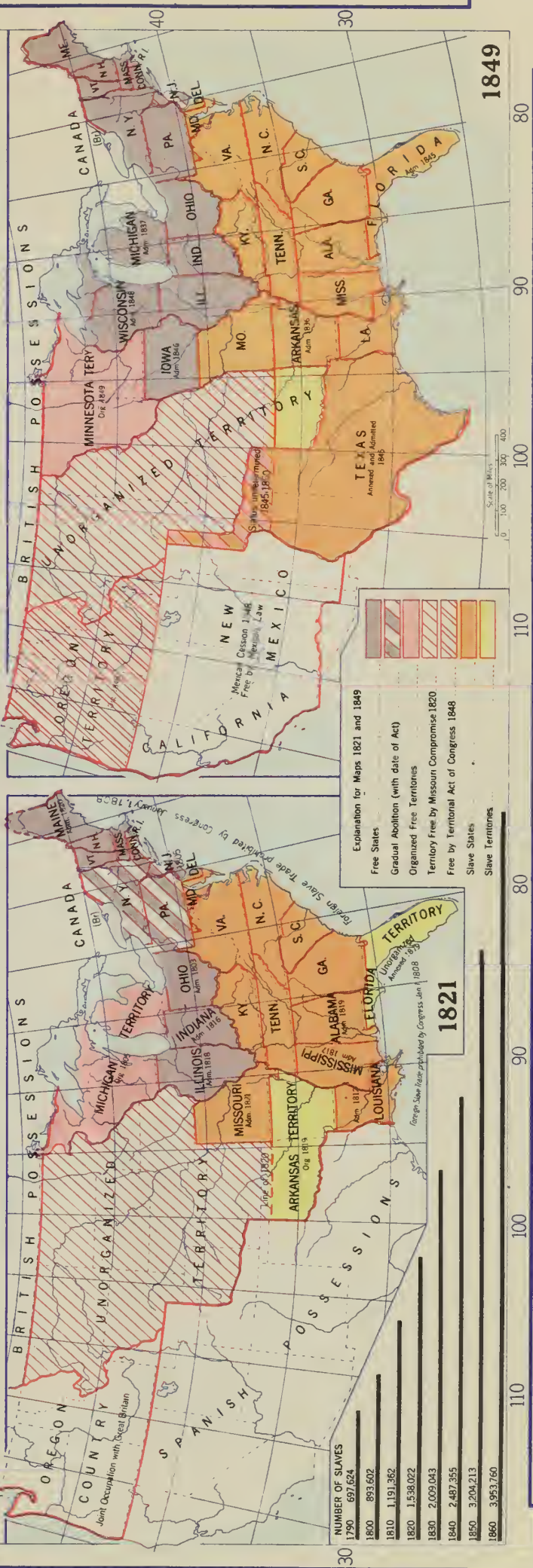
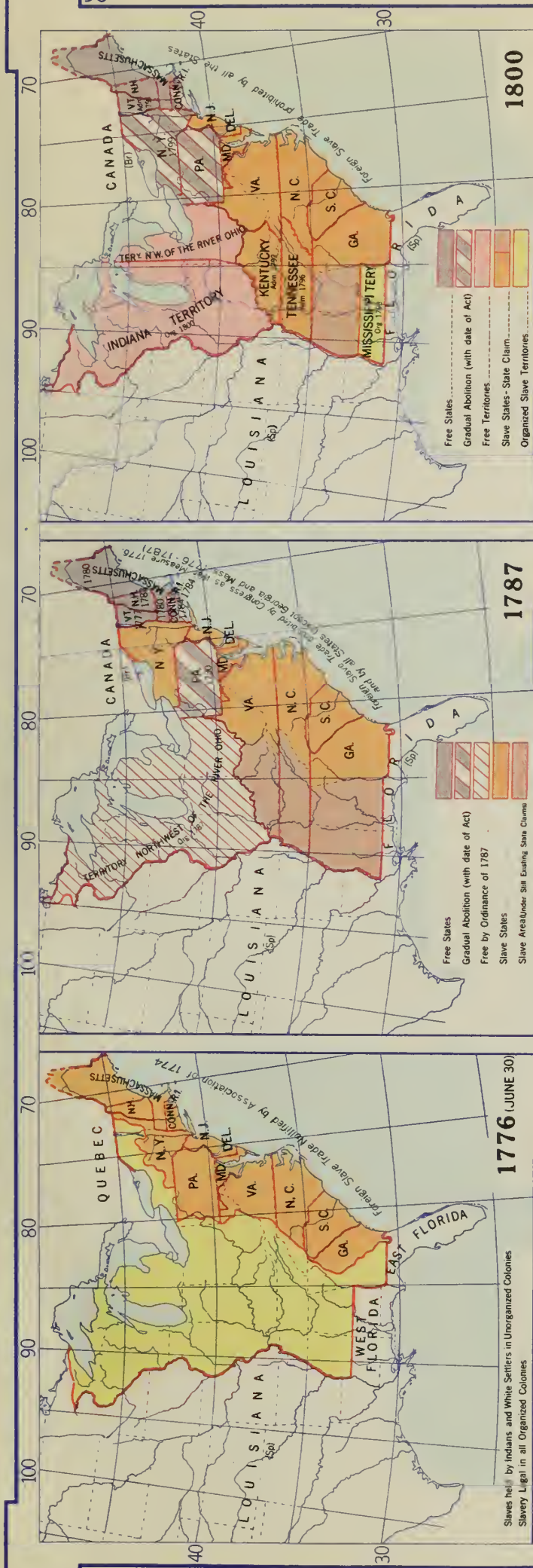


Figure 1.

House of Representatives where his constituency had sent him, to labor earnestly for Congressional relief from slavery's yoke, and become the warm confidant of "The Great Emancipator."

Between 1826 and 1861 the world of the home missionaries, and the social and political conditions of their own nation, in particular, were to be altered, radically, beyond their furthest conception. Without their foreknowledge that this would come to pass, the missionaries, by speech and action, served as a primary instrumentality in producing many of these irrevocable changes in the nation's life and culture.



II. A PRICE ON YOUR HEAD!

The first jarring notes of controversy over slavery as the home missionaries grappled with this issue, were sounded in Illinois. Here the Rev. Elbridge G. Howe, a Congregationalist from Massachusetts, found the citizenry still embittered over the unsuccessful campaign of 1823 to amend the state constitution on the subject of permitting slavery. Coupled with resentment of this sort was a prejudice against eastern settlers, eastern ministers in particular.¹³ A frontier doctor, who applied for a missionary at Jacksonville, asserted that the "desolations of this otherwise desirable region" were attributable to the emigration from southern states.¹⁴ Another missionary,¹⁵ who had labored at Kaskaskia, found slavery "an incubus" on the efforts of the older settlers to maintain Protestant churches in that sector.

The Synod of Indiana, nearly all of whose ministerial members were appointees of the American Home Missionary Society, memorialized the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1829 on the subject of "buying, selling or holding of a slave for the sake of gain," calling such practice "a heinous sin and scandal."¹⁶ The General Assembly did not pass this resolution.¹⁷ Though the presidents of two Presbyterian seminaries—Lane and Hanover—were personally opposed to slavery, they refrained from agitating the question; moreover, both of these gentlemen discountenanced abolitionism out of the fear of disrupting these institutions on slavery's borders. This fear was in part realized at Lane Seminary in 1834 with the rebellion of the student body and the subsequent pilgrimage of thirty-five to Oberlin.¹⁸ The student antislavery society at Hanover College also gave the faculty not a little anxiety.¹⁹

That the tide of abolitionism was fast swelling in Ohio the ten resolutions of the Presbytery of Chillicothe, passed in 1835, clearly indicate.²⁰ A year later, the Presbytery of Huron adopted the same views.²¹ It is a curious fact that a merely mild case of antislavery activity proved unacceptable in the Western Reserve: at Edinburgh, the minister of the Congregational church was forced from his pulpit for his non-membership in the American Anti-Slavery Society.²² However, the Rev. Daniel Lathrop, the home missionary agent on the Reserve, believed that, if the "whole truth" were told, the abolitionists would prove to be responsible for contributing to the American Home Missionary Society "probably more than 4/5 of all your funds on this field, and embrace more than 3/4 of the intelligent, active piety in our Synod."²³

But it was in Illinois that the controversy between home missions and abolitionism reached its fullest proportions. Here a brutal reminder of the power and irresponsibility of a corrupted public opinion was to be seen in the murder of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy on the night of November 7, 1837. Previously an appointee of the American Home Missionary Society in Missouri, Lovejoy had published the St. Louis Observer in 1835. Following his enforced withdrawal to Alton, Illinois, he continued the paper as the Alton Observer. In this grim episode, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and antislavery agitation were bound up together as the major issues.²⁴ Yet the Rev. Owen Lovejoy was prepared to offer his own life in expiation of his brother's martyrdom, if need be. Writing to James Gillespie Birney, Kentucky's foremost apostle of emancipationism, he said:

My brother has done more dying than he could living, and horrid as was the sacrifice I cannot, all things considered, regret that it was made. I advised him in a conversation we had a short time before his death to stand firm at his post, and although I did not then think that these tragical results would follow, I still think he did his duty, in remaining at Alton. And I trust in God, if called upon I shall be willing to follow the same course, even though it lead to the same end.²⁵

The fact that the missionaries' correspondence is all but silent concerning Elijah Lovejoy's death at Alton may mean much or little,²⁶ though two of his friends did mention the confused state of affairs in Alton resulting from it. The Rev. Albert Hale, the missionary at Bethel, Illinois, spoke of this condition, and the Rev. Theron Baldwin, the principal of the Monticello Female Seminary in Upper Alton, opined that the "mobites" had done Alton "more injury than Br. Lovejoy could have done by the publication of his paper for centuries."²⁷ Collectively, however, Lovejoy's ministerial brethren registered their "unfeigned grief" when the New School Presbyterian Synod of Illinois condemned "that public sentiment which could withdraw from such a man the protection of the laws, and leave him to the mercy of an infuriated and unprincipled mob."²⁸

Prior to the Elijah Lovejoy tragedy, the Congregational Association of Illinois (in the Quincy-Jacksonville sector) had passed vigorous antislavery resolutions.²⁹ Further attesting to the earnest concern of the missionaries with this burning public question was the organization of the Illinois State Anti-Slavery Society in October, 1837.³⁰ When the Rev. Thaddeus B. Hurlbut, in whose house at Upper Alton this society was formed, five years later became the pastor of the Congregational church at Vermillionville, the minister's abolitionist convictions were emphasized by his coworkers who endorsed the church's application for aid from the American Home Missionary Society.³¹

Other missionaries, too, were persecuted for advocating their views on this hotly debated issue. The Rev. Asa Turner, Jr., the minister at Quincy, repeatedly exposed himself, enduring assault and battery, to strike hard blows against slavery's brutality.³² Exhibiting a similar fearlessness, the Rev. David Nelson, a former Kentucky slaveholder, was forced to flee from Marion County, Missouri, in 1836, for teaching and preaching abolitionist doctrine. He barely escaped with his life, and, shortly following, formed the Mission Institute, a few miles east of Quincy, Illinois.³³ Here Doctor Nelson's evangelistic labors were so effective that Missouri mobsters swarmed across the Mississippi River to set one of his college buildings afire—in March, 1843.³⁴ The untimely death of this noble servant of Christ the following year was attributed to the shock of this disaster which befell his work.³⁵ Abolitionist preaching by the Rev. Julius A. Reed in 1839 cost this Congregational pastor the tenure of his church at Warsaw,³⁶ while the Presbyterian missionary at Toulon, the Rev. Samuel G. Wright, observed an increasing resistance to antislavery pronouncements in Stark and Peoria counties, and alarm and apprehensiveness pervading this entire region. In 1843 Wright was arrested and indicted.³⁷ The Rev. John Cross, a missionary in Knox County, experienced similar treatment the next year.³⁸ Both Wright and Cross had been especially active in Underground Railroad operations; but their cases were not prossecd.³⁹

Wherever the interests of Congregationalists and Presbyterians came to a focus in the cooperative planting of new churches on the expanding frontier northwest of the Ohio River (see Figure 3),⁴⁰ missionaries and laymen joined hands in propagating anti-slavery doctrine. With some, this belief took the form of "gradualism." Others favored the manumission of the slaves, espousing a direct and uncompensated emancipation. Many were won over to a radical "Garrisonianism." However, the majority to be met

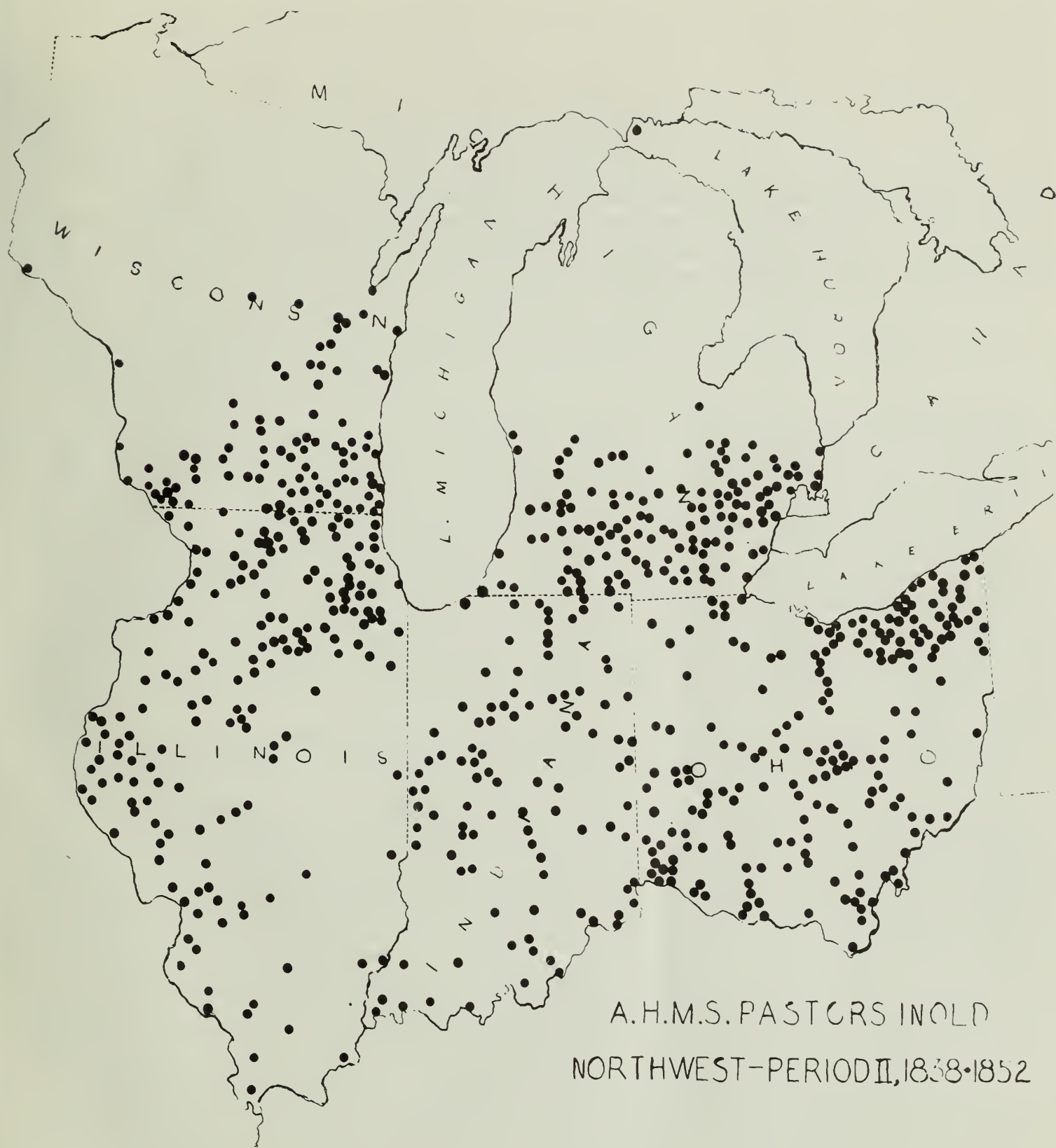


Figure 3.

with in these pages seem to have been largely motivated by the powerful religious feelings which nourished the roots and shaped the doctrines of an "immediatism" as preached with evangelistic zeal by such men as Theodore Dwight Weld and the Rev. Charles Grandison Finney, to whom abolitionism was a holy cause which could not fail. How this holy fire raced from man to man, and from church to church, will appear in succeeding chapters of this book. These flames did not die down, but blazed ever higher, becoming hotter with the years, until the missionary motive and the abolitionist spirit became inseparably fused. In time this fever was translated into political action.

We now turn to a study of the manner of involvement of the American Home Missionary Society, in relation to this mounting crusade for the abolition of slavery from the churches looking to it for their support.

III. ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS

To begin with, the missionaries discovered that their pastoral duties took the precedence of extensive antislavery activities. The work of the American Home Missionary Society was national, not sectional, in scope; it was religious, not political, in character. These facts deterred the missionaries from pitching themselves headlong into abolitionism. There was another point to be considered: had the Society's officers incurred suspicion or earned ill will by indulging in abolitionist invective, the important work at the South would have been needlessly jeopardized. Even so, that work went forward only with the greatest difficulty.⁴¹

But the Society's attitude of "non-interference" with slavery situations was greatly deplored by the main-line abolitionists. An editorial, "The Work Before Us," appearing in the Annual Report for 1844, raised more questions than it disposed of. For the Society to denote slavery simply as "an obstacle" to missions, and to brand it merely as "a horrible anomaly" only put its policy in question.⁴² Lewis Tappan, a leading New York merchant, prominent in the Broadway Tabernacle, and corresponding secretary of the Union Missionary Society, promptly addressed a letter to Secretary Milton Badger requesting a full statement.⁴³ In 1844, the Rev. Oliver Emerson, a young Congregational missionary at De Witt, Iowa Territory, also demanded a clarifying word from the home missionary executive.⁴⁴ In replying, Badger brought out two facts:

(1) The American Home Missionary Society supported no missionaries who held slaves;

(2) The missionaries in the slave states had not been instructed to seal their lips against criticizing the slave system if they felt it to be their duty to preach on this subject.⁴⁵

If Badger's brief gave Tappan any comfort (actually, we do not know what effect it produced), his letters to Emerson left the missionary still laboring under the impression that a part of the Society's income was being accepted from slaveholders. If that were the case (Emerson reasoned), he himself would be implicated in the sin of slaveholding by accepting his salary from the Society, and, acting on that conviction, he resigned his commission.⁴⁶

As the abolition crusade gained momentum in the North, demands were pressed at the South for the annexation of the Republic of Texas. Friends of missions became alarmed: the question raised was, could the West be reserved for free institutions, or did the western gateway have to be swung wide open to slavery?⁴⁷

During the 1840's both the Congregationalists and the New School Presbyterians were made uneasy by the fact that, through their cooperation under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the American Home Missionary Society, certain aspects of their organized church life had become interlocked with intolerable slavery situations.⁴⁸

For more than a decade the American Board had conducted schools and organized churches among the Choctaw and Cherokee Indians inhabiting the wide tract between the Red and Arkansas rivers.⁴⁹ In promoting this work, the Board's representatives had been obliged to comply with the laws of these two Indian nations by whom, however,

hundreds of slaves were held. Previous efforts to get this anomalous situation cleared up had failed to quiet the agitation which its existence touched off among the Board's financial supporters. When the question of sending missionaries to the Indians again came up in the annual meeting of the American Board at Brooklyn, New York, in 1845, it was decided that for the time being they should be sustained on the existing basis.⁵⁰ The net effect of this action, however, was to offend certain sponsors of the Board, who felt that the only decent alternative to the countenancing of slavery by the churches was to be sought in the creation of a new missionary agency formed outright on abolitionist principles.⁵¹

Though its work at the South was fast becoming a liability to the American Home Missionary Society, it was even more important now than before that feelings of hostility should not be incited against the missionaries who continued to labor in the slave states.⁵² How to master this ugly reality and achieve a happy solution was, indeed, a crucial problem for all concerned. (The writer does not conceal his thought that the Society's officers acted right in refusing to abandon the aided southern churches.)

It has been truly stated by Professor Colin B. Goodykoontz that the "delay of the American Home Missionary Society in taking a strong antislavery stand led to sharp criticism of its course by the abolitionists," and that some of the Society's workers "resigned their commissions because they thought it was winking at iniquity."⁵³ The autograph letters prove that several missionaries did resign, among them being John G. Fee of Kentucky, Milo N. Miles of Illinois, and Oliver Emerson of Iowa Territory.⁵⁴

As dissatisfaction with the American Board and with the American Home Missionary Society increased, new agencies were formed in behalf of the Negroes: the Amistad Committee was one, the Union Missionary Society another, the Western Evangelical Missionary Society still another, and the Committee for West India Missions a fourth. Many individuals and churches now refused to entrust further funds with the so-called "old boards."

The most aggressive of the newer agencies was a brand new one—the American Missionary Association, founded in 1846; with it the above antislavery missionary organizations soon became merged.⁵⁵ Prominent as the treasurer of the A. M. A. was Lewis Tappan, a member of the Broadway Tabernacle Church in New York City and a close friend of his former pastor there, the Rev. Charles Grandison Finney, the famed Presbyterian and Congregational evangelist and professor in the Oberlin Collegiate Institute.⁵⁶ It was not long until a considerable number of the young men and young women who had been trained under Finney at Oberlin came to work under Tappan in the A. M. A. as missionaries—in West Africa, the West Indies, and the United States. Eventually, numerous A. M. A. workers were called to pastorates in the Old Northwest, a field hitherto virtually preëmpted by the American Home Missionary Society.

Soon sharp differences arose between the A. H. M. S. and the A. M. A., originating, on the one hand, in the advocacy of contradictory views with regard to the relationship of the churches to the slavery problem; and, on the other, in response to conflicting denominational policies of western church extension. Thus, a painful source of trouble could readily be found in the very constitutional principles of these two agencies, this manifesting itself when official group action relative to slavery would be proposed either by the Congregationalists or by the New School Presbyterians in church bodies assembled.

To the above factors was now added the organization of the Free Presbyterian Synod of Cincinnati in 1846 and 1847—an antislavery church fellowship which carried many important pastors and congregations away from both Old School and New School

Presbyterian moorings.⁵⁷ Besides, the Free Presbyterians discovered that the treasury of the American Missionary Association was opening liberally to their ministers. The strife on the field, accordingly, increased, as the A. M. A. continued to supply pastors for both Congregational and Free Presbyterian pulpits in communities where New School Presbyterian home missionaries were already settled (though barely subsisting) on grants provided by the American Home Missionary Society.⁵⁸ Many situations of this sort developed about 1853 while further misunderstanding arose in connection with the fund solicitations for both of these missionary societies, now rivals. Difficult though they were to bear, the mutual suspicions and reproaches that fell on the devoted servants of these organizations were bravely borne until Confederate guns opened fire on Fort Sumter.⁵⁹

IV. BUT WHAT CAN BE DONE?

To get a clear insight into this phase of the antislavery controversy, one must bear in mind that the resolutions which were passed in condemnation of slavery by presbyteries, synods, and church associations, as well as by individual congregations in the Old Northwest, had been framed, worded, and urged upon the membership by the appointees of the American Home Missionary Society.

Between 1847 and 1856, the Society was conducting its operations simultaneously in five principal regions of the nation: New England, the Middle states, the Old Northwest, the South, and the Far West. In New England, the home missionaries served Congregational churches; in the South, New School Presbyterian churches. In the Middle states, the Old Northwest, and the Far West, missionaries of both denominations were commissioned. Adding to the complexity of this pattern was the fact that a high percentage of the money paid out for New School Presbyterian missionaries' salaries was being collected and disbursed by New England Congregationalists, constituting (until long after 1861) the financial backbone of the American Home Missionary Society.

It is only fair to state that the Society neither bound these ecclesiastical bodies by restrictive covenants, nor censured its appointees for their antislavery opinions and utterances. Many of the missionaries continued to hope (1) that their strong views on this moral issue would eventually be adopted by the Society, and (2) that the Society would likewise be brought to support their efforts to sever the ties which seemed to bind the great Presbyterian Church to the slavery system. Yet the missionaries did not presume to voice the official policy of the Society as to this question.

The Presbyterians, in their presbyteries and synods, were doing much to create a public opinion favorable to the abolitionist movement, although the slavery issue had already been highly instrumental in effecting the schism in their own national judicatory, the General Assembly. The Synod of Cincinnati, the Synod of the Western Reserve, the Synod of Indiana, the Synod of Michigan, and the Synod of Illinois, together with the numerous presbyteries embraced within these jurisdictions, had consistently labored to get the General Assembly to go on record against the tolerance of slavery in the churches of this denomination. Following the schism of 1837-1838, the New School Presbyterian bodies in the Old Northwest all but unanimously protested against the connection of the churches with the system of involuntary servitude.

The New School General Assembly likewise took action against slavery, but its protests could not, in the nature of the case, be unanimous and decisive. In its sessions of 1840, 1843, 1846, and 1849 some advance had been registered, it is true; but it was not until 1850 that the New School Presbyterian General Assembly voted to regard slavery as "intrinsically an unrighteous and oppressive system . . . opposed to the prescriptions of the law of God."⁶⁰ Thus, over a period of some years, the action or non-action of the New School Presbyterian General Assembly on this ticklish question bore vitally on the policy of the American Home Missionary Society. For although, collectively, the New School Presbyterians continued officially to tolerate slaveholding in many of their churches until May, 1857, the Society held on peaceably in the subsidy of their work. In doing so, however, it was ignoring the warnings of the rising number

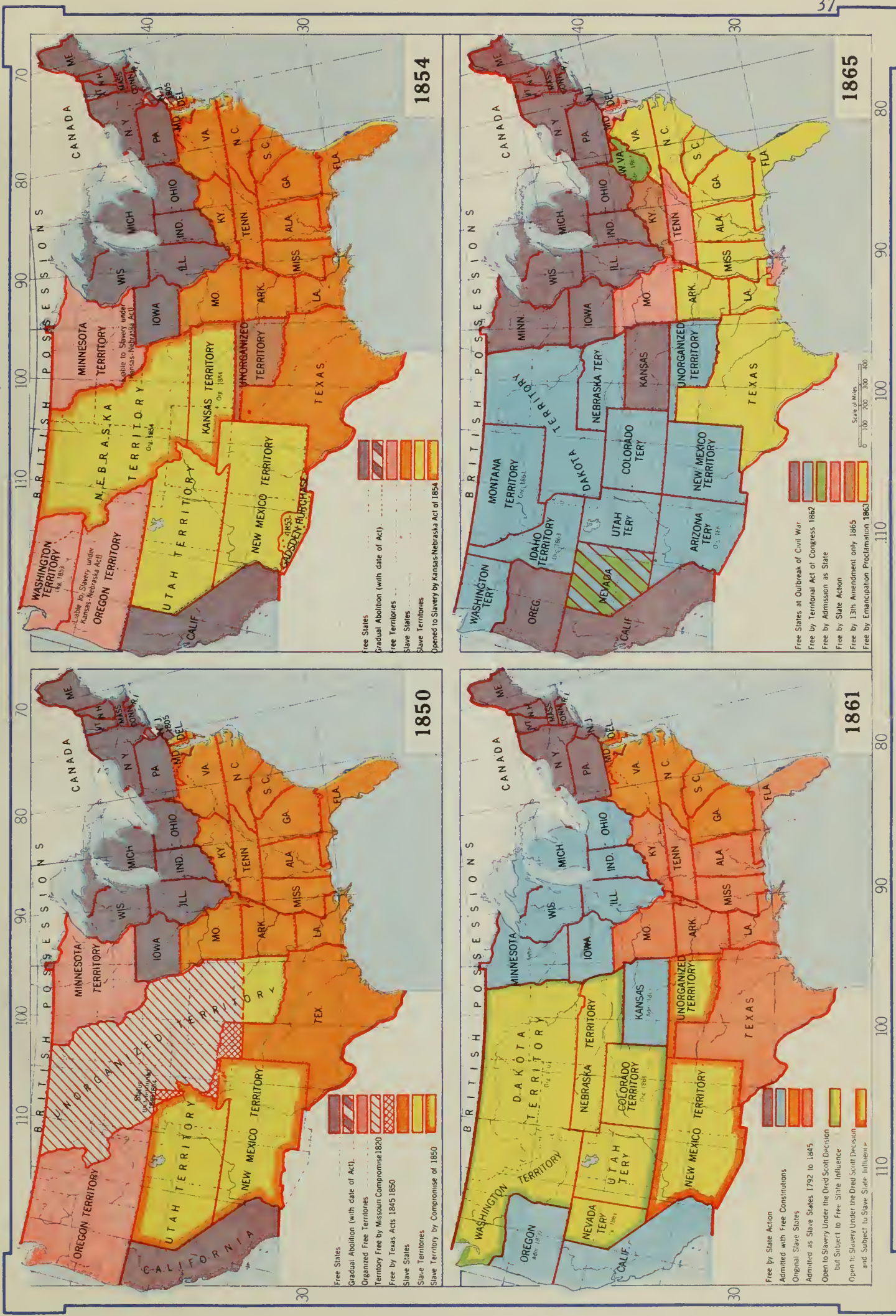
of Congregationalists, issued first at the Western Convention at Michigan City, Indiana, in August, 1846, and reiterated later by the Albany Convention in October, 1852.⁶¹

In the meantime, however, the American Home Missionary Society did not wish to occupy the position of presuming to dictate what the New School Presbyterian Church should do. But, as the Congregational churches multiplied at the West, the New School Presbyterian General Assembly felt obliged (1847) to strengthen and expand its existing churchly interests by constituting the Standing Committee of Home Missions. Further expansion came in the same direction in 1852 with the appointment of the Standing Committee on Church Extension. This committee (1855) was instructed to plant new Presbyterian congregations "in advance of all others"—an injunction capable of serious misunderstanding, and it was misinterpreted by competitors—thereby causing the co-operative work of the American Home Missionary Society to suffer. Thus, the Society was confronted with a dilemma on the score of giving satisfaction to its two principal supporting denominations.

As time sped on and the New School Presbyterian General Assembly postponed the making of a clear-cut condemnation of the slavery system, one important wing was lost in 1846 through the withdrawal of the Free Presbyterians. When, at Cleveland, in 1857, the General Assembly finally denounced the slave system, all but one of the eight synods in the slave states also withdrew from this highest judicatory. By the action of seven of these synods in 1858 the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America was formed at Richmond, Virginia. For obvious reasons, mostly political, the United Synod merged with the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America in 1863 and 1864, today the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The eighth synod—Missouri—had previously (1856) rendered itself independent of the New School Presbyterian General Assembly.

Since its inception in 1846, the American Missionary Association had been at odds with the American Home Missionary Society over the question of extending subsidies to churches comprised of slaveholders. Nor could the Free Presbyterians see eye to eye with their Old School and New School Presbyterian brethren, though they were in agreement, in principle, at least, with the American Missionary Association, as to dissociating the churches from the system of slavery. The Free Synod of Cincinnati, accordingly, became one of the principal auxiliaries of the A. M. A. Thus, the Free Presbyterians in the Old Northwest were not slow in discovering that the A. M. A. was inclined to support their churches, dotted on a wide arc extending westward from Pennsylvania, through Ohio, across Indiana and Illinois, to a vanishing-point in northwestern Iowa. Thus, too, the successive schisms, withdrawals, realignments and coalitions forming within the Presbyterian household of faith were destined to play an increasingly crucial rôle in the course of the home missionary developments throughout the entire nation.

The tensions in the process of building up for longer than a decade became still more insupportable following the passage of the Compromise of 1850 and the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854 (see Figure 4).⁶² The early resolution of these tensions was of the gravest concern to all supporters of missions. Would the American Home Missionary Society respond to this new demand now being placed upon its shoulders, with its 1,087 workers in the field of the United States, 435 or 40% of whom were serving Congregational and/or New School Presbyterian churches in the five states of the Old Northwest in the year 1852? Was so great a witness as this to be written off as a total liability, or would exertions be quickly made to mitigate the evils of slavery? Could the nation look to the spirit of Christianity as embodied in the organized home



missionary movement to attack and drive out this evil, and to sustain the energy, the money, the man-power, and the morale required to keep it out forever?

In the next chapter we shall see what efforts were being put forth in certain quarters as partial answers to those who sought the removal of the terrible stigma which had impressed itself upon the American churches: "the bulwarks of American slavery." Ironically, this brutally frank identification was originated by a distinguished southern lawyer, who set free all his slaves together with those which had fallen to his wife as an inheritance, and who henceforth devoted his talents, his fortune, and his life as long as physically able to the abolitionist cause—in the legislative bodies of two slave states, in the press, throughout the Presbyterian Church, from the lecture platform, and by his attendance upon the important international antislavery assemblies held at London, England. This gentleman was James Gillespie Birney of Kentucky and Alabama, whose forceful rebuke of the churches' involvement in the slavery system troubled a great many American denominations.

V. "HE THAT HATH CLEAN HANDS . . ."

That the American Home Missionary Society came to reverse its policy in regard to slavery in December, 1856, owed much to the fact that western Congregationalists were becoming increasingly insurgent as a group. From the 1830's to the 1850's a sizable share of the attack on slavery was carried by the churches and church associations of Ohio and Illinois.⁶³ Many of the Presbyterian church bodies in Ohio were constituted, for the most part, of Congregational churches, especially in the Western Reserve. In order to arrive at a fair determination as to the spirit which animated these Ohio churches, however, it will be necessary to review briefly the main points belonging to the ecclesiastical development of the Western Reserve.

Acting entirely in good faith and serving in bonds of fraternal unity, the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians had promoted this development for nearly a generation in the spirit of the Plan of Union of 1801. To be sure, certain modifications or "accommodations" of the Plan were made from time to time in the interest of local harmony, but on the whole the Plan served well until about 1830. Under its operation three principal types of churches had been organized, namely, Congregational, Presbyterian, and "mixed," and the Synod of the Western Reserve embraced all three of these church types. Early in the 1830's, however, steps were taken to form "independent" Congregational churches acknowledging no dependence upon the Plan of Union as an instrument of comity or polity, and preferring no identification either with the Plan or with the American Home Missionary Society as an agent in the promotion of interdenominationalism. In fact, an entire association of these independent Congregational churches was formed in the Reserve in 1834. Soon another wave of independency moved across the Reserve with the organization of new Congregational churches, together with another association of the same, the whole being manned and planned almost exclusively by recent graduates of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute. Yet a third distinct pressure was now coming to be regarded as a threat to their peace and comfort by the backers of the Plan of Union, namely, "Unionism," a movement which sought the blending of all denominations by the expedient of reducing Christian theology, particularly the Calvinist theology of the Congregational and the Presbyterian churches, to the lowest common denominator in a kind of creedless Christianity. By the mid-1830's a split in the ranks of Presbyterianism also seemed inevitable, and indeed in 1837-1838 the General Assembly was violently rent in twain. So completely, however, had Presbyterian interests previously become identified with those of their Congregational brethren in the Western Reserve that several of the Presbyterian churches, when the split occurred, by sentiment or by previous attachment "Old School" as opposed to "New School" (as the lines were drawn), remained in adherence with the Synod of the Western Reserve when this church body was excinded by the General Assembly of 1837.

By the 1840's there had come to be no fewer than seven functioning types of churches antecedently Congregational or Presbyterian in the Western Reserve region, as follows: (1) Presbyterian since 1800; (2) Congregational since 1801; (3) "mixed" since 1803; (4) "independent" Congregational since 1833; (5) "Oberlin" Congregational since 1835; (6) Old School Presbyterian since 1837, and (7) New School Presbyterian since 1838.

And the incipience of "Unionism" posed a question for all these church types. As these individual ecclesiastical patterns emerged, no little feeling arose among clergy and laity alike over the presence of various difficulties, some trifling and some of greater consequence, felt as obstructing effectual intercommunion and service. Matters involving church polity, ministerial transferral, and church discipline were the most keenly debated. The policy officially endorsed by the American Home Missionary Society was that of "neutrality." Nevertheless, some of its agents, on occasion, leaned first in one direction and then in the other, in the discharge of their superintendency, some favoring and some repressing the organization of new Congregational churches. In 1845 the two presbyteries of Medina and Portage, for example, embracing 52 churches between them, contained but 3 New School Presbyterian churches, the remaining 49 being Congregational in their polity. In 1846 there were 172 churches belonging to the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations on the Western Reserve, of which number only 25 were Presbyterian (16 "New School" and 9 "Old School"). The other 147 were Congregational churches, but with this qualification: 22 were of the "independent" variety, and 27 belonged to the General Association of the Western Reserve, a body professing sympathy with the theological ideologies then being enunciated by members of the Oberlin faculty.

As a generalization it may be stated that if a Congregational church remained independent, or if it did not affiliate with an orthodox Congregational ecclesiastical organization, or if it settled an Oberlin pastor or one who preached the doctrines of Perfectionism or one who was suspected of holding the tenets of this school of thought, that church or that minister found it painfully difficult if not impossible to obtain a subsidy from the American Home Missionary Society, and if (as though by a miracle) successful, tenure was hazarded.

As a matter of fact, yet another fear existed, one, indeed, that was well justified, namely, that certain outside interests were endeavoring to intrude with the intent of destroying Ohio's "peculiar organization." This caused many ministers, either Congregational or Presbyterian, to decline to state precisely with which denomination they preferred to be identified; but the patient, tolerant, firm good sense of the Society's agent, Rev. Myron Tracy, finally beat back these efforts at invasion both of the privacy and of the prerogatives of the Synod of the Western Reserve.

The ministerial connections of the home missionaries with the Synod were, therefore, neither scuttled nor broken asunder, connections which in the main brought vitality, personnel resources, brotherly fellowship, and social-mindedness to bear when questions demanding clear thought and unitive action arose with the fuller development of the Reserve, especially in the rapidly growing towns. Accordingly, the way was still open for the expression without let or hindrance by Presbyterians and Congregationalists of a concerted mind as to the relationship which the churches ought to bear to the antislavery movement.

Certainly, by their resolutions, the numerous Ohio presbyteries under the Synod of the Western Reserve consistently denounced the connections linking the churches with slavery, this being particularly noticeable in the outspoken views of the Huron, Portage, Medina, Trumbull, and Cleveland presbyteries. The resolutions of the Synod as a whole likewise flowed in the same channels of thought. It was even possible for the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians, uniting in a convention at Akron, Ohio, in the winter of 1847, to voice their testimony against the heinousness of slavery, and to urge all ecclesiastical bodies to protest to their higher judicatories against the threatened southwardly extension of slavery following the Mexican War.⁶⁴

Other Ohio Congregational church bodies formed since the Presbyterian schism also shared these feelings concerning slavery. For example, the Congregational Association of Central Ohio passed the following resolutions on October 3, 1839:

1. That slavery as it exists in these United States is a violation of all rights, a heinous sin against God and ought in no instance to be tolerated by a Church of Christ.
2. That it is the imperative duty of every minister of Christ and all Christians to bear their testimony against this sin and to use all righteous means within their power for its total extinction.⁶⁵

The General Association of the Western Reserve, a body allegedly harboring the theological heresy of "Oberlinism," in 1837 condemned slavery as the "consummation and aggregate of all oppression." Two years later further resolutions were passed, while in 1843 the Association recommended

the holding of special religious anti-slavery conventions for mutual prayer and conference, and to endeavor to enlist all Christians in the great effort to free the American church, now its great bulwark, from the sins of slavery.⁶⁶

In its eighth annual meeting the Association adopted a resolution stating that

the grand element of power in the anti-slavery cause lies in its moral rectitude and in the moral wrong of the system it opposes and that emancipation is the cause of God and depends absolutely on his blessing for its success, and hence that all our measures and our spirit should be such as will best secure the sympathy and blessing of the Most High.

Any abolitionists who found their sentiments unpopular in their communities were advised to "withdraw from such churches and unite with other churches which will grant [them] liberty of speech or form a new church on gospel principles."⁶⁷ In 1846 the same body voted "that we cannot have any ecclesiastical fellowship with slave holders or with those who refuse to bear open and faithful testimony against slavery."⁶⁸ The radical tone of these deliverances is largely explained by the fact that by this date the majority of the ministers in the General Association were Oberlin graduates and were eager to aid in the formation and work of the American Missionary Association.

As far as church life in Illinois was concerned, the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians had done practically everything together in that state in the spirit of adapting the Plan of Union to local circumstances. So fully had their mutual interests become identified, that nearly every Congregationalist prided himself upon being numbered with the Presbyterians. But few ministers and laymen gave thought to the matter of the denominational emblem or form, or even so much as anticipated the organization of Congregational churches and church bodies as such, the general presumption being that the new churches would be formed according to the Presbyterian polity. Most of the home missionaries acted on this principle, having also been advised by their seminary heads to take care to see that this was done. Accordingly, in the earliest years, no Congregational churches were organized.

Until 1833 this principle was effectual; on the whole, it brought mutual satisfaction to the antecedents represented in the broad expanse of Illinois, in the occupation of which there was but one solitary Congregational church, this being the Hampshire Colony (at present-day Princeton in Bureau County), which had originally been organized

in 1831 as both a colony and a church in Massachusetts and transplanted into Putnam County, Illinois, the same year. The year 1833, however, juts out as a prominent landmark in the history of the Illinois Presbyterian and Congregational churches; for, before this year had expired, at least four more Congregational churches had been organized on Illinois soil. Ultimately, the future course of both denominations was to be directly influenced by this "ecclesiastical revolution" of 1833; for between 1833 and 1844 no less than 110 Congregational churches were organized in Illinois alone, to say nothing of the nearly equal increment among the Presbyterians, both Old School and New School, following upon the schism of 1837-1838, and to omit (from this place) all reference to the spread of this revolt to other states. As the accompaniment of these developments the formation of four local Congregational associations in Illinois enlarged the opportunities being given for the proclamation of antislavery opinion—the Congregational Association of Illinois (1834), the Congregational Union of Fox River (1835), the Rock River Congregational Association (1838), and the Central Congregational Association (1844).⁶⁹

In 1836 the Congregational Association of Illinois passed powerful resolutions against slavery, though still weightier condemnation was heaped upon the slave system in both 1838 and 1839.⁷⁰ The Rock River Congregational Association earned a bad reputation with the American Home Missionary Society when two of its ministers, John Cross and Owen Lovejoy, ran afoul of the law for their conduct of operations on the Underground Railroad. Lovejoy repeatedly denounced slavery as well as the denial to Negroes of their rights as citizens under the notorious "Black Laws" of Illinois. One of his sermons, delivered in his own pulpit at Princeton in January, 1842,⁷¹ was repeated before the Rock River Congregational Association assembled at the Roy home in Lyndon, Illinois.⁷² It is possible that Joseph Roy, then a lad of fourteen years, received an inspiration for his later work with the American Missionary Association through his hearing of Lovejoy's powerful sermon.⁷³ Though indicted in 1843 "for secreting and harboring fugitive slaves," Owen Lovejoy was acquitted. His companion in efforts to improve the lot of the Negro was the Rev. John Cross, a Wesleyan minister who had become a Congregationalist and had turned from Knox County to serve the churches at Lee Center and La Moille further to the north. Cross also was indicted in the same year as Lovejoy, but his case was not prossed.⁷⁴ The Rock River Congregational Association, a body including in its ranks several Oberlin graduates and their wives, as well as Lovejoy and Cross, acting in 1845, came within one vote of withholding its further benevolence receipts from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions because of its disagreement with the Board's activities among the slaveholding Indians on the Arkansaw River.⁷⁵ Two years later, the Clerk of the Rock River Association reported that "... the oppressed are receiving more and more sympathy."⁷⁶ By way of contrast, however, one missionary observed that the Sycamore pastor had "left ... their church which stands with only a roof to cover the timbers and yet that is the only church of our denomination in a county [De Kalb] of 6 or 7000 inhabitants ... because he could not say Shibboleth to their antislavery creed."⁷⁷

A summary of the action taken by certain Illinois Congregational churches saw publication in the Western Citizen, a Chicago antislavery weekly established in 1842 by Zebina Eastman and Hooper Warren.⁷⁸ The church at Lisbon, for example, stated that its "pulpit and communion table have been securely guarded and closed against slaveholders or defenders of slavery."⁷⁹ With the Rev. Owen Lovejoy in the pulpit of the Hampshire Colony Church at Princeton, in February, 1844, support both financial and moral was withheld from the American Board, "for the reason that [its funds] had

been procured by extortion and robbery of the heathen at home.”⁸⁰ The Congregational church at Sycamore also discountenanced sympathy and fellowship with slaveholders, and it was joined in this radical step by the churches at Bloomington and Mount Hope.⁸¹ In 1846 those at Bloomingdale and Elk Grove voted in similar fashion⁸² as did the Dover, Waverly, Providence, La Moille, Libertyville, and Picatonica Congregational churches.⁸³ The Congregational churches of Elgin and Aurora, and the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago also denounced the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.⁸⁴

On November 15, 1843, a number of the Illinois Congregationalists held a convention at Princeton in anticipation of the formation of the General Association, framing a Constitution with abolitionist articles. When at Farmington in June, 1844, the General Association of Illinois was formally organized, the abolitionist sections were made more stringent.⁸⁵

There could be no doubt that the Illinois Congregationalists were in the forefront of the abolitionist crusade. To the steady witness of individuals and congregations was added the greater weight of their collective testimony as members of a denomination counting, in 1844, not less than 110 churches in the state. There was, besides, the testimony of the four local associations; this was registered against subsidizing slavery every time opportunity offered. Thus, five organized Congregational church bodies vigorously and consistently gave out their views in opposition to the involvement of their principal missionary agency—the American Home Missionary Society—with the entrenchment of slavery. Their witness pointed to one and only one conclusion: the Society should cease its operations wherever its involvement conferred the sanction of its good name upon slaveholding in the American churches.

In 1850, when the question was raised as to why the home and foreign mission boards ought not to change their policy of operating in the slave states and among the slaveholding Indians, the General Association of Illinois passed the following resolutions:

1st That the church of God was ordained as an agency for reforming human society, as well as for sanctifying the believer, and as such, is bound to wage perpetual warfare against sin, eschewing all compromise with what is morally wrong.

2nd That it is absurd to expect that public sentiment will ever condemn any practice as wrong & sinful, so long as it finds countenance among the leading evangelical churches of the community.

3d That the Home & Foreign Mission Boards are the true exponents of the churches whose almoners they are—and that they stand before the world as the embodiment of their aggressive piety and moral principle.

4th That it is the imperative duty of the Home Mission Society to extend no further aid to churches, which do not take the ground that slaveholding is prima facie evidence against a man's christian character.

5th That the A. B. C. F. M. ought to sustain no missionary, or mission churches which do not pledge themselves to eradicate the evil from their respective bodies as speedily as sound wisdom will permit, and that it is the duty of the Board to announce publicly their determination not to sustain them.

6th That a neglect on the part of these Boards to take speedy & decisive action against slavery—hitherto corrupting the gospel through their instrumentality—must destroy our confidence & that of the churches we represent, in their trust worthiness for managing the missionary funds of the church.⁸⁶

The Congregational Union of Fox River, acting in the firm belief that slavery, as it exists in the United States, is a sin against God and a violation of the rights of man, — denying to the slave the privilege of reading the Bible, setting aside the marriage relation, and tempting, and even compelling, men to do what God has forbidden,

passed the following testimony in 1845:

Resolved, That we are bound in Christian kindness to raise our standing rebuke against this sin;

Resolved, That we will neither invite into our pulpits nor to the communion table, those who are slaveholders;

Resolved, That we recommend to all the churches belonging to this body to carry out these principles;

Resolved, That we highly approve of the late action of the Synod of Cincinnati in the case of the Rev. William Graham, and hail it as one of the indications of the speedy downfall of the iniquitous and loathesome abominations of American slavery.⁸⁷

In June, 1846, the Fox River Union again urged the American Board to abandon the Indian stations on the Red River.⁸⁸

The organization of the Central Congregational Association of Illinois in October, 1844, strengthened this denomination's attack on slavery.⁸⁹ The Rev. Jonathan Blanchard, president of Knox College at Galesburg, was in the vanguard of those urging the American Home Missionary Society to correct its policy. In an address, "American Mission Boards and American Slavery," given in 1848, Blanchard stated:

. . . . The American Home Missionary Society aids forty-five churches in slave states which are conducted upon the principle of admitting slaveholders to fellowship. The result is that the Society is considered as testifying in favor of allowing slaveholding in the church. . . . The present position is indefensible, and ought to be receded from. . . . It props and buttresses the declining character of slavery, and neutralizes the testimony of 927 ministers, among them the most devoted and excellent men on earth, who, whatever they say, will not be thought to be radically hostile to slavery while sustained by a Society which issues commissions and aid to forty-five men who are propagating a slave holding Christianity.⁹⁰

In Michigan, the "Union Church" at New Buffalo received into its membership one William Johnson, a fugitive slave employed as a farm hand by Jacob Gerrish, a pioneer of the region. When in 1848 this church was reorganized as a Congregational church, the members added the following Minute to the original Covenant:

That you will not receive as a member or fellowship any person possessing property of his fellows. That aids or abets slavery in any form.⁹¹

In 1849, as Congregationalists became more numerous in western Michigan, the Kalamazoo Congregational Association was organized. Several of its member churches came, in turn, to operate as stations on the Underground Railroad. The Association's consistently abolitionist temper is illustrated by its condemnation of slavery in 1850 as

the great disturbing element in our National Govt. distracting its councils, threatening its safety—cruelly oppressive to the Bondmen, fostering their passions, enshrouding their minds in ignorance & debarring them from Social, Civil, & Religious Rights;—corrupting the slaveholder;—making its exacting power felt thro’out the nation—& constituting a daring sin against God.⁹²

The Kalamazoo Association further protested against the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 for “coming directly into conflict with the Word of God,” stating the Act

transcends the legitimate sphere of human legislation, & is not therefore obligatory upon conscience; & that he who suffers its penalties rather than obeys its mandates, exhibits, so far forth, the heroism of Christian martyrdom.⁹³

The Presbyterian and Congregational Convention of Wisconsin (a body, counting, at the time, more Congregational than New School Presbyterian churches), also passed the following resolutions in October, 1848, all of which were forwarded to the American Home Missionary Society, together with a covering letter penned by the Rev. Stephen Peet, the Society’s former (though unfairly deposed) agent in Wisconsin Territory:

Resolved. That we heartily commend the action of the Prudential Committee of the A. B. C. F. M. in investigating the relation which the Indian Missions sustain to slavery—That while it is with extreme grief we learn from the facts of their Report the strong attachment of their churches in that department to the institution of slavery, we yet find occasion for rejoicing in the effort the Committee have made to free those churches from all this great evil—and that our confidence in the Board is greatly increased and our purposes to give it our earnest cooperation are greatly strengthened in the hope that the whole body will fully sustain and carry out the position of the Committee on this subject.

Resolved. That with the renewed expression of our confidence and sympathy in all the designs and labours of the Am. Home Missionary Society, we urge upon the attention of its Executive Committee the importance & propriety of taking similar action in reference to the missionaries and churches in slave states which receive their patronage.

Resolved. That while we renew our expression of attachment to each of the remaining noble Benevolent Institutions—the A. Bible Society—the Am. Tract Society & the Am. Sunday School Union, we also press upon them the necessity of overcoming that extreme sensitiveness which has at times characterized their action, and conducting their operations so as to bring Divine truth, through the presses at their command, to bear, not solely, but yet, directly upon the sinfulness of slavery whenever & wherever it comes within their legitimate sphere.

Resolved. That the condition of the Three Millions of slaves in our land calls upon all these Benevolent Associations and upon the churches generally, diligently to inquire into the spiritual destitutions of this part of our population, and to devise means, more effectual than any now employed, to convey to them the light and blessings of the gospel.

Perhaps it will be appropriate to add that the Resolutions were unanimously adopted after mature deliberation. Our meeting was one of great interest & harmony and of deep solemnity. The spirit of God was in our midst. There was a good representation from all parts of the state. Our best, most judicious and

conservative ministers were present and had the contrall of the matter & the modelling of the Resolutions—We are not now troubled with these ultra spirits who once tried to force upon us unwise & radical resolutions in reference to your society. They were few and have either retired or become more mild & reasonable. But the sentiment of our whole Convention, which now consists of about 70 ministers & near 100 churches, is decidedly in favour of a greater advance on this subject by the Home Miss. Society. There is no want of confidence & no disposition to dictate when or how it shall be done, but there is an increasing desire on the part of the friends of your society to see you leading on in this matter & not wait to be driven. We believe the public will sustain you in reasonable measures—and that much difficulty will be avoided by taking soon high & right ground on this subject.

Stephen Peet, Stated Clerk.⁹⁴

The important landmark in the history of the “official” action taken by Congregationalists in regard to the slavery question is in the Albany Convention of 469 ministers and delegates, October 5-8, 1852. Under the able chairmanship of the Rev. Absalom Peters, formerly belonging to the New School branch of the Presbyterian Church, formerly also the corresponding secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, and now the pastor of the Congregational church in Williamstown, Massachusetts, the following resolution, offered after the administration of the Lord’s Supper, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that in the opinion of this Convention, it is the tendency of the Gospel, wherever it is preached in its purity, to correct all social evils, and to destroy sin in all its forms; and that it is the duty of Missionary Societies to grant aid to churches in slaveholding states, in the support of such ministers only as shall so preach the Gospel, and inculcate the principles and application of Gospel discipline, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in regard to slavery, and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong; and that wherever a minister is not permitted so to preach, he should in accordance with the directions of Christ in such cases, ‘depart out of that city.’⁹⁵

In Chicago, the Congregational Herald (successor of the Prairie Herald) took the initiative in churning up the case for abolitionism among the churches. The Rev. John C. Holbrook was brought over from Dubuque, Iowa, to organize Chicago’s New England Congregational Church, but his parish duties did not prevent him from editing the newly acquired Congregational Herald, an organ stoutly defending the American Home Missionary Society against any and all detractors.

In the mid-1850’s this weekly helped to turn the New School Presbyterians and the Congregationalists against one another.⁹⁶ Since 1847, the New School Presbyterians had been pursuing a more independent course in regard to home missionary promotion. By 1853 they had so far committed themselves to such a denominational policy as would certainly, in time, bring their General Assembly to the point of breaking with the American Home Missionary Society, and this actually occurred in 1861.⁹⁷ Following the Albany Convention the Congregationalists also became more separatist-minded. The Congregational Herald lost no opportunity to point out trends of this sort.

Antislavery agitation soon combined with resurgent denominationalism on both sides of the fence in the matter of conflicting policies relative to church extension, and in

such a form as to effect the final separation of the Congregationalists and the New School Presbyterians. In home missions separate sponsorship and separate action became a virtual necessity (see Figure 5).⁹⁸ From 1846 to 1855 the ministers and churches in both denominations found themselves torn between supporting either the American Home Missionary Society or the American Missionary Association as well as their own denominational agencies.

As the 1850's lengthened, the state associations of the Congregational churches from East to West bitterly attacked the involvement of the churches with the slavery system, and the American Home Missionary Society came to see that it would no longer be possible to evade the case in point. Of all these state Congregational associations, none favored the Society more consistently than did that of Michigan, on the one hand; which body, in 1853, issued a pamphlet stoutly defending the A. H. M. S.⁹⁹ On the other hand, the General Congregational Association of Iowa was more clamorous than any other state body in making abolition the "test issue," in making this the sole basis recognizable by the A. H. M. S. as the pre-condition for its grants of aid to struggling churches. Onward from 1851 the Iowa Congregationalists had reiterated their condemnation both of slavery and of the numerous acts of Congress designed to cope with its extension to other parts of the Union. Hopes were likewise fading that slavery could be excluded from the newly organized territories of Kansas and Nebraska. As a climax, the Iowa Congregationalists met the issue with a set of antislavery resolutions in June, 1856.¹⁰⁰ This action exerted a determining influence upon the Society's policy-forming Executive Committee at New York. In December, 1856, the Committee made an important decision touching the churches related to the Society as wards, a decision whose content and import will be reviewed in Chapter VII. As subsequent events proved, this was the last time the American Home Missionary Society was obliged to make an official decision concerning the problem of slavery in the American churches.

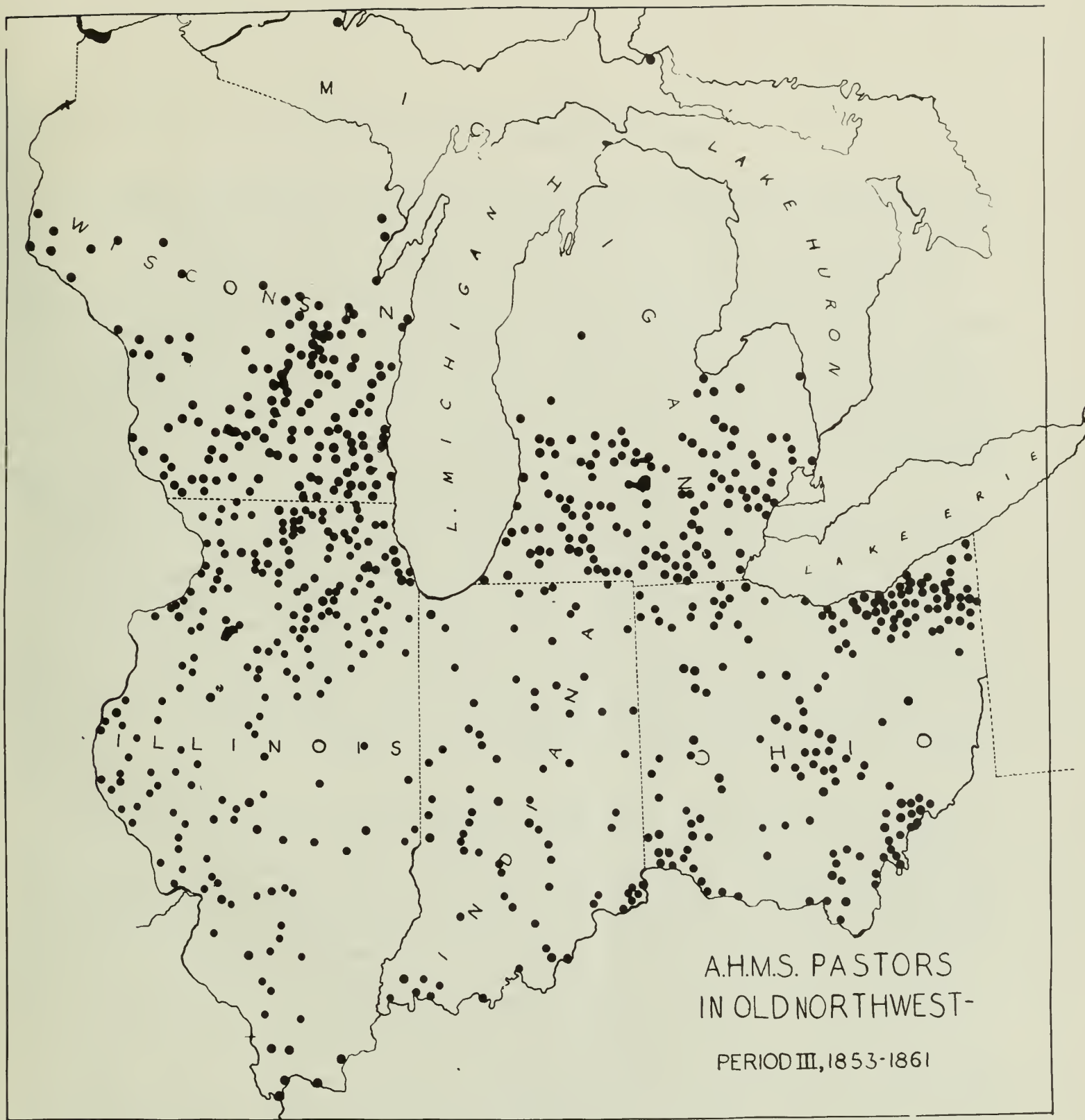


Figure 5.

VI. MOVING UP THE SIEGE GUNS

That many Congregationalists and New School Presbyterians found it possible regularly to work together, however, was amply demonstrated by the conventions held jointly by these two denominations during the 1840's: Cincinnati, 1842, Cleveland, 1844, Detroit, 1845, Chicago, 1847, and Buffalo, 1848.¹⁰¹ In view of the fact that the New School Presbyterians met in their General Assembly only triennially from 1840 to 1849,¹⁰² such conventions as these furnished the opportunity and occasion for splendid interim fellowship as well as for the taking of united benevolent action. The conventions of 1842, 1844, 1845, and 1847 took strong antislavery action.¹⁰³ But the Chicago convention (1847) voted its confidence in the American Board, despite the Board's continuance of operations among the slaveholding Indians.¹⁰⁴ In fact, the Board was given a complete "whitewashing," as we say, insomuch that two resolutions, discountenancing these Indian missions, were kept from reaching a floor vote.¹⁰⁵

As the 1850's opened, many Congregationalists and New School Presbyterians were prepared to continue with their joint labors looking toward abolition. Thus, the Christian Anti-Slavery Convention, which met at the Vine Street Congregational Church of Cincinnati in April, 1850, led on, before the close of that year, to the organization of the Western Home and Foreign Missionary Association,¹⁰⁶ which group promptly became an auxiliary of the American Missionary Association.¹⁰⁷ The Cincinnati anti-slavery convention had sought not only to turn public sentiment forcibly against the national political Compromise of 1850, but also to put the New School Presbyterians themselves in a more favorable position to oppose the extension of slavery into the new territories acquired by our federal government from Mexico at the conclusion of the war with that nation.

So favorably were these earlier measures regarded by the two denominations concerned that a second convention, larger than the first, was held at the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago in July, 1851.¹⁰⁸ The convention's Moderator was the Rev. Jonathan Blanchard, abolitionist, the president of Knox College at Galesburg.¹⁰⁹ The second antislavery convention passed resolutions (1) denouncing the Compromise of 1850, and (2) urging that both the American Board and the American Home Missionary Society be entreated to withdraw their personnel from the slave states and from all slavery situations. The convention provided a stronger impetus also to the formation of new, abolitionist missionary societies.¹¹⁰ Through the efforts of "Deacon" Philo Carpenter, one of the organizers of the First Congregational Church of Chicago in May, 1851, and of Zebina Eastman, editor of the Western Citizen, the Northwestern Home and Foreign Missionary Association was constituted on July 7, 1852. This organization also became an auxiliary of the American Missionary Association.¹¹¹

A few days prior to the Chicago antislavery convention, the defenders of the "old boards" likewise held a missionary convention, also at Chicago,¹¹² the Moderator being the Rev. Julian M. Sturtevant, the president of Illinois College at Jacksonville, and a strong supporter of both boards.¹¹³ As indicated by the decline in receipts (especially marked in Illinois), the policies of the two older missionary boards were fast becoming untenable. Although missionaries continued, under these boards, to labor on in the

slave states, the missionary convention hardly attacked the real issues, and the delegates pled that neither home nor foreign missionary policy should be altered for the time being.

President Blanchard and others in central and northern Illinois openly advocated the formation of an organic union of the Congregationalists and the New School Presbyterians in that broad field. It was thought at the time that neither the Presbyterian General Assembly nor the American Home Missionary Society could ignore a body of ministers and churches such as their union plan envisioned. In the autumn of 1850 this merger seemed likely to reach a consummation, but the point of actual union was never attained.¹¹⁴

The organization of the First Congregational Church of Chicago in May, 1851, provided evidence of the dissipation of the spirit of mutual confidence in the interdenominational or federative relationships obtaining hitherto, this being a case-history of strife over abolitionism among the members of the Third Presbyterian Church of that city.¹¹⁵ More directly responsible for the rupture was the unprecedented and unconstitutional action of the Chicago Presbytery on April 2, 1851, in directing the Session of the Third Presbyterian Church "to strike their names from the rolls" of the forty-two members who had signed a number of antislavery resolutions against the advice of the presbytery.¹¹⁶ The members had been warned by reason of the fact that their own action was, in reality, unconstitutional. Once the above steps had been taken, however, neither side would retreat, and there was no other course but to drop the fractious element. Thus, under the conscientious leadership of Philo Carpenter, the First Congregational Church of Chicago came into being.¹¹⁷

In 1851, the Central Congregational Association of Illinois tried its hand at effecting a change in the policy of the American Home Missionary Society with respect to slavery by publishing a monthly paper—the Christian Era. Exactly how many issues were published seems not to be definitely ascertainable, as only two or three bearing different dates have ever been found by research scholars and secondary sources do not indicate the fact. The Society's "frustrations" in the field of the slave states were described in the issue of February 24, 1851, with which a form of petition was enclosed for the churches' use. "We only ask to cease planting slaveholding churches, to receive no more churches under its [A. H. M. S.] patronage while they fellowship slaveholders," read the petition in part.¹¹⁸

A clear picture of the opposition now ranged against the American Home Missionary Society is given in the autograph reports of the Illinois agents. From Galesburg, the Rev. Flavel Bascom expressed to the New York City home office his misgivings that the Cincinnati society would "cover the West with its agencies and will everywhere reap the fields which you have cleared & fenced & tilled for years." "Free missions, i.e. free from the fellowship of slavery, is a popular idea at the West," advised Bascom, "and I see no way by which your Society can avoid collision with the new Society except by 'stealing its thunder'."¹¹⁹ Later, he stated that his own church was sending \$300 to the Western Home and Foreign Missionary Association. "Our people think for themselves," he warned, "and they are not satisfied to give their money to build up slave holding churches." Bascom also reported a majority of the ministers in both the Central and General associations "in favor of disconnecting our Home Missions from Slavery," and "making up their minds to leave you [A. H. M. S.] ere long if no token of progress in the right direction appears."¹²⁰ In writing to the A. H. M. S. from Pittsfield, the Rev. William Carter complained that Blanchard and Bascom had admitted "their object is not to kill your society, but to give it a sweat." "So you see, you are

to be doctored whether you will or not.”¹²¹ The Rev. Lucius H. Parker wrote that unless the A. H. M. S. changed its policy, the Cincinnati organization would “sweep over these plains like a prairie fire & no human power can stop it.” “God is in the movement, in releasing us from slavery; & may it be found that we labor together with him!”¹²² The Rev. William Kirby, A. H. M. S. agent for central Illinois, also warned that

if the American Home Missionary Society retains its hold upon the affections and confidence of many of our most active & devoted churches, it will be obliged to do something of the kind [i.e., withhold aid from churches in the slave states], so as to show that its sympathies are with the oppressed & against the oppressor.

Kirby stated he did “not know of a church that will be alienated by such a position, in the entire field of my agency,” and he recommended “the adoption of the principles embodied in the petition” appearing in the Christian Era.¹²³ He later reported that the churches at Galesburg, Peoria, Metamora, and Mount Hope presumably had forwarded their benevolences not to the American Home Missionary Society (customary, but not 100 per cent obligatory), but to the American Missionary Association.¹²⁴ The Society’s agent at Galena, Illinois, the Rev. Aratus Kent, also advised the home office to reconsider. “The time will come,” wrote Kent, “when the A. H. M. S. must take the stand that they will not commission men to labour in slaveholding churches.”

Much as I may be stigmatized as a Proslavery man, I still am constrained to say that whenever your Committee feel prepared to take that stand, they may count on me as one who would welcome the announcement. And if the distant echo of so feeble a voice should contribute anything to hasten such a result, I am quite ready to give utterance to it either within the closet or on the house-top.¹²⁵

It was extremely unfortunate that the best efforts of many Congregationalists and New School Presbyterians to unite their forces in the antislavery movement were being exerted precisely at the time when conflicts as to church extension policies were forcing these denominations further apart. By 1856, when the American Home Missionary Society finally decided to withhold its grants-in-aid to slaveholding churches, nearly all its patronage within the bounds of the New School Presbyterian Church had been forfeited.¹²⁶ As for Illinois Congregationalists, they reluctantly admitted that the tensions which had arisen out of the joint conduct of home missions would probably be reduced if each denomination in the future were to act separately. Eventually, this method became the settled policy of national missions.

VII. DISCONNECTING HOME MISSIONS FROM SLAVERY

Following the organization of the American Missionary Association in 1846, as shown above, the American Home Missionary Society found itself increasingly embarrassed by the slavery controversy in relation to resurgent denominationalism. The ensuing decade was a difficult one. Yet, by December, 1856, the Society, meanwhile, having made almost imperceptible accommodations, had come to reverse its original position as to slavery in the churches. These steps, denoting the formation of the Society's "mind" on this subject, were, both in sequence and in detail, as follows:

1. When, in May, 1847, attention was called to the predicament of the missionaries in the slave states whose letters to the home office had been published, the editor of the Home Missionary described slavery as "a gigantic obstacle to the progress of Christ's kingdom."¹²⁷ Being unwilling to sit in judgment on the southern churches, he simply said that "the writers of these extracts, and of other missionaries in the same situation, considered it their duty to remain and preach" there.¹²⁸

2. Two years later, further views of the missionaries (all names were withheld) were published under the caption, "The Great Hindrance," in response to criticism that the Society was maintaining "but very few missionaries in the slave states." Though admitting this fact, the Society advanced good reasons for the existence of this peculiar situation. "The answer must be so obvious," claimed the editor of the Home Missionary, "that an exposition from us can hardly be expected."

. . . . Now, is it strange, that it should be difficult to induce men, nurtured in the stern doctrines of the Puritans, and filled with the lesson of their history, to go to communities where they must not touch, even with a text of Scripture, the most obvious hindrance that opposes their success? Is it strange, that so many who have tried the experiment, have become wearied with the effort to labor amid slavery, without offending slaveholders, and have forsaken the field in despair?¹²⁹

3. Near the close of 1850 evidence appeared that the Society was preparing to act more positively in the publication of an excerpt from a letter (the writer's name was withheld) sent by the Rev. T. S. Reeve, the Presbyterian minister at St. Joseph, Missouri.¹³⁰ The Presbytery of Lexington had appealed for a larger quota of missionaries. After describing this field as "most inviting & replete with the most glorious expectations to any good, active, faithful minister," Reeve warned that a Missouri minister must be the kind of person

who can throw off the nicely fitting cut of the college & remain to don the loose & unseemly garments of the great West & who will let politics alone—slavery alone, save to bear upon it the express injunction of Paul.

The spokesman further advised that if such men came, they must be willing "to leave all their eastern prejudices at home & come here & adopt our ways, save when it compromises conscientious principles of religion and morality." "Such men we want," stated Reeve. "We have room for a full score of them in our own Presbytery."¹³¹

Against this exhibition of presumption the American Home Missionary Society published the following rejoinder:

Now, in reference to the subject of slavery, this Society deems it to be the province of the missionaries as ministers of Christ, amenable to Him and to their respective ecclesiastical bodies, to determine for themselves the occasions and the way in which they will bring the Gospel to bear on this and every other evil. . . . And the Society is virtually told not to send missionaries with liberty of conscience and of speech, to do what they shall think is right, when, with Bible in hand, they shall meet slavery face to face; but, to send only such as will wear a padlock on their lips and give the key into the hands of keepers. This cannot be done. . . . There is no use in blinking the fact that this admitted evil is a great hindrance to the spread of religion, to education, to moral and social prosperity; and no one will deny that the Gospel is its most direct and appropriate remedy. But if the preacher of the Gospel be prohibited from touching the evil with the remedy, where is the inducement to send him? Such appeals for missionaries react against those who make them. . . . If our friends in the slave states wish us to send missionaries, or wish to induce missionaries to come to them, they must not prescribe any conditions which shall fetter the free action of intelligent and God-fearing men, acting on their sincere convictions of the nature and requirements of the religion of Christ.¹³²

4. Here matters rested, despite the fact that the Albany Convention (October, 1852) favored a change in policy with respect to the employment of missionaries in the slave states. In 1853 the Society's officers published a long article dealing with the "injurious representations" being hurled against the organization, contending that

the position and the action of the Society will clearly show, that they regard [slavery] as a great political, social, and moral evil; as a formidable hindrance to popular improvement, and especially to the spread of the Gospel and the salvation of souls.

They had no doubt that slavery was

a subject on which the influence of the ministry may appropriately be brought to bear; and that the missionaries who live where slavery exists are bound, in the exercise of a due discretion as to times and methods, to make their ministry tend, in the most effectual manner, to the removal of this giant evil.¹³³

Although the Society "has not felt called to make this subject specially prominent in the way of public discussion," its officers claimed "an open and unembarrassed testimony" had nevertheless been borne against slavery. "For example," they wrote, "it is well known that this Society does not commission slaveholders as missionaries, that if any minister in its employ becomes, either voluntarily or involuntarily, the owner of a human being, he is dropped from the list of its agents."¹³⁴ Slavery was ranked

among the chief evils with which the Gospel must grapple; it [the A.H.M.S.] sustains no ministers in slave States who are implicated in this sin; it claims it as the right and the duty of the missionaries so to bring the Gospel to bear on this subject that the moral sense of their people shall be awakened and enlightened, and they may be led to free themselves from its guilt. When the missionary, in fulfillment of his duty, encounters opposition and obloquy, he is sustained by the

sympathy and pecuniary aid of the Society, as long as there is hope of usefulness; and then, when duty bids him depart, he is assisted to enter other fields. . . . It will be found, therefore, not fleeing from slavery, and signaling its zeal by the severity of its denunciations at a distance; but meeting it on its own field, as Providence may permit, with this Heaven-appointed instrumentality, and speaking the truth in love on this as on other moral questions, await the results under the unfailing guaranty, 'Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world!' In this position, the Society feels that it stands on the same ground as the great body of the New School Presbyterian and Congregational Churches—whose missionary organ it is—and is fully sustained by their action.¹³⁵

The Society, in aiding the New School Presbyterian churches in the slave states, had made itself liable to blame for providing a bulwark for slavery, though it was not easy for its accusers to prove this. It was claimed that it was doing "whatever lies within its province to do," and that in discharging its duties "no practicable measure that is embraced within its legitimate sphere is being overlooked."¹³⁶ Such a defense could only prove unsatisfactory to the American Missionary Association, whose missionaries in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky had been organizing "free" Congregational and "free" Presbyterian churches environed by the slave system but rejecting both the membership and the financial support of any slaveholders. In 1853 the American Missionary Association rebuked the American Home Missionary Society for pretending that an abolitionist policy was impracticable and undesirable. Since a former secretary of the latter organization (Absalom Peters) had guided the Albany Congregational resolutions to their adoption,¹³⁷ it was considered the more obligatory upon the Society to take decisive action. The A. H. M. S. was urged by the A. M. A. to shake itself loose from an alleged complicity (some thought a connivance!) with slavery by severing all ties which bound it to churches, boards, and ecclesiastical bodies, even to the New School Presbyterian General Assembly, which appeared to condone slavery.¹³⁸

5. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill on May 30, 1854, supplied home missions with a new dynamic. Now that new public lands had been opened to the champions as well as to the foes of slavery, and "colonists" representing both were racing to possess them, the American Missionary Association, in concert with the various "emigrant aid" societies, rushed to the support of ministers and churches there.¹³⁹ The American Home Missionary Society, unwilling to let its rival preëempt this free soil, likewise sent its appointees (all Congregationalists) to Kansas, the first reaching Lawrence in November, 1854.¹⁴⁰

The struggle for the freedom of Kansas and Nebraska furnished the A. H. M. S. with new reasons for setting about the extirpation of slavery from churches hitherto receiving its aid. Now attention was focussed on the churches in Missouri. Since the newcomers usually entered these territories by way of Missouri,¹⁴¹ the conduct of state and territorial officials was closely watched. The outcome of certain recent territorial elections had been determined by "border ruffianism," thereby arousing public sympathy for the missionaries. Some of those sent out by the A. M. A. had been kidnaped, jailed, or otherwise forcibly prevented from the discharge of their duties,¹⁴² and the same lawless forces menaced the lives of the A. H. M. S. appointees. It was reliably reported that blood had been spilled on the Kansas frontier even prior to the sack of Lawrence in 1856.¹⁴³

Now that an actual slavery situation had been encountered on a new frontier the American Home Missionary Society set forth its position with less equivocation than previously, as shown by the following editorial:

But Slavery, in its own proper, moral, intellectual, and social tendencies, is a far greater obstacle. Crowding down half of the people—almost the entire laboring class—into the condition of “chattels personal,” in which they are deprived of the motives that man always needs for his progress in any thing good, and of the opportunities which are his right; casting a shadow of ignominy upon all those whose poverty compels them to work with their hands; depriving them, too, of the proper stimulus to improvement, and of necessary facilities for mental and for spiritual culture; exalting the few into a place of temptation, that it may degrade the many into a state of ignorance and dependence, which is the fruitful occasion of gross immoralities, and of vulgar and obstinate religious fanaticisms; trampling on first principles of the divine law, the dictates of man’s natural conscience, and the essential spirit of the Gospel of Christ—and so, lowering the standard, and confusing the principles of rectitude, infusing a subtle demoralization throughout the community, and making all rights and duties of doubtful validity; diminishing even the sacredness of life, the authority of the law that guards it, and the sanctity of courts whose duty it is to judge transgressors; exercising an arbitrary censorship over the press, and often prescribing expositions and ethics for the pulpit; limiting the just liberty of every member of society, overawing opposition, and touching every consenting conscience with a stain—this mournful system of American Slavery is a curse to all concerned in it, and an enemy to God and man. Its essential spirit, and its ‘net purport and result’ constitute, as all Home Missionary experience most sorrowfully shows, a fearful hindrance to the spread of the principles, and to the renovating power of the Gospel of Jesus Christ What is our duty? Churches and Christians at the South should feel that they owe it to God, and to their whole country, to the present, and to all future generations, and to all nations upon whom the influence of our example or labor shall ever fall, to do all that God permits, for the removal of the unspeakable evil and iniquity that are essentially involved in our American system of Slavery; and all others, be they of the North or of the South, are in duty bound to assist to the utmost of their ability, those upon whom the chief weight of this dread responsibility rests.¹⁴⁴

6. Events marched on to their inevitable climax with the resolution of the General Congregational Association of Iowa (June, 1856), that “the time has fully come when the American Home Missionary Society should no longer grant aid to any church which allows the practice of slaveholding by its members.”¹⁴⁵

This action was duly transmitted to Secretary Milton Badger by the Association’s Registrar, the Rev. William Salter, a member of the “Iowa Band” from Andover Seminary, the distinguished Congregational minister at Burlington, Iowa, who served in this capacity from 1846 until 1910. In the correspondence which followed, the fact was brought out that the Missouri-Kansas border disturbances had involved certain Congregational ministers and church members originally from Iowa.¹⁴⁶

It must here be sharply distinguished that all of the Missouri churches then being subsidized by the American Home Missionary Society in the missionary year 1856/1857 were New School Presbyterian churches, and that 16 of the 24 missionaries still under commission for the slave states were at this time laboring in Missouri.¹⁴⁷ Although the A. H. M. S. listed Missouri as a “western” state, nevertheless the fact remains that the New School Presbyterian Synod of Missouri was officially proslavery in its sympathies, a few slaveholders being found in nearly all of the churches within its

bounds—churches owing their very existence to the American Home Missionary Society.¹⁴⁹

Were these self-same churches to be placed beyond the pale by the Society's refusal to carry them through the protracted period of their feebleness, Presbyterianism, assuredly, would lose in prestige. Such a turn of events, moreover, should have proved unacceptable to the Missouri New School Presbyterian leaders in view of the fact that the Congregationalists generally were recouping their heavy losses sustained earlier under the old "Plan of Union" methods of church extension. How, in looking ahead to better days, could it have been recognized as a sound policy for the Missouri New School Presbyterians further to antagonize the American Home Missionary Society, this time in regard to slaveholding church members? For it had been concerning another touchy subject that the Society had but recently issued explicit warnings to the New School Presbyterians, namely, on the question of the itineration of missionaries within synodical boundaries. The Society had clearly stated that the general funds must not be used for this purpose, and that collections made on the field could not be appropriated to this use, without the express approval of the Society's Executive Committee in New York City—this point having been raised in its most acute form by the New School Presbyterians themselves in Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan.¹⁵⁰ As matters turned out, however, the New School Presbyterian Synod of Missouri (1856) cut itself off from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and thereupon the Missouri Home Missionary Society, hitherto an auxiliary of the parent A. H. M. S., was dropped.¹⁵¹ In that way the Missouri New School Presbyterians forfeited both the aid of their own General Assembly's Church Extension Committee and that which the American Home Missionary Society might have rendered them had their demands been but slightly modified.

7. Finally, in December, 1856, the Society's Executive Committee took the following unanimous action:

Resolved, That in the disbursement of the funds committed to their trust, the Committee will not grant aid to churches containing slaveholding members, unless evidence be furnished that the relation is such as, in the judgment of the Committee, is justifiable, for the time being, in the peculiar circumstances in which it exists.¹⁵²

Confident that this action would prove satisfactory to its patrons both in New England and in the West, the Society announced:

The Christians who have undertaken to propagate the Gospel, in its purity, over all this Continent, claim, and will exercise the right to know what are the teachings of the ministers they sustain, and what is the character of the churches they plant. They prefer not to patronize and propagate the system of AMERICAN SLAVERY! They wish to be assured that the institutions which they help to sustain, are not the bulwarks of this system. They, therefore, take the liberty to inquire, in a kind and Christian manner, what is the attitude in regard to this subject of those whom they are asked to assist.¹⁵³

The Society's beneficiaries were assured that this information would be

sought in a kind and Christian manner, and, we trust, will be freely and cheerfully communicated, as similar information has been in time past, and be of great value to the Committee, not only in determining the propriety of their appropriations, but in vindicating many of the churches aided and the Society itself, from unjust and injurious aspersions.¹⁵⁴

Thus, to all appearances, the suspicions attached to the Society's operations for more than thirty years had once for all been removed.

Among those hastening to inquire as to the action contemplated under these resolutions were Lewis Tappan, treasurer of the American Missionary Association, and Dr. Julian M. Sturtevant, president of Illinois College. Tappan was informed that the policy adopted was not to be regarded as a novelty; it was, rather, the final stage in the process of restricting home mission aid to churches which had, of their own volition, quietly disfellowshipped slaveholding members. Sturtevant was advised that slaveholding henceforth was to be construed as "prima facie evidence against" the giving of any further assistance to churches known to be involved in its practice.¹⁵⁵

As the New School Presbyterians themselves were soon to demonstrate, the taking of direct and drastic measures with respect to the church and slavery controversy could no longer be evaded. For, despite the fervent pleas of Dr. Frederick A. Ross, a commissioner from Huntsville, Alabama, that the slavery issue should not be pressed, the New School Presbyterian General Assembly of 1857, meeting at Cleveland, Ohio, excommunicated the churches for their tolerance of slaveholding members.¹⁵⁶

The southern commissioners, feeling it obligatory conscientiously to withdraw from the General Assembly, declared the passage of these powerful resolutions signified "the virtual excising of the South."¹⁵⁷ And their initial response to this treatment was, as we have already seen, the formation of the United Synod of the South.

For the New School Presbyterian Church the departure of the southern arm, with upwards of 10,000 church members, meant, regrettably, its loss of status as a "national" church. This parting of the ways also bespoke the deepening of the rift already dangerously widening between the churches in the North and those in the South. Those most deeply concerned could see that the American churches could not continue to exist half free and half oppressed.

VIII. TIME SIDES WITH HUMAN WORTH

In the years that followed the Albany Convention of 1852, the Congregationalists were in the process of achieving greater cohesiveness, building up their strength, and attaining a limited measure of centralization as a denomination. The American Home Missionary Society felt morally assured of more steadfast support from these Congregational sources if its aid were denied to churches sanctioning the admittance of slaveholders. As to this point, however, there had been no "prior understanding"; no one had "put over" a "deal," looking toward this result. The facts are, that the statistics were running counter to the New School Presbyterians in respect to their relationships with the Society. Previous to 1852, they had regarded the A. H. M. S. as the principal agency for the extension of their Church. But, as shown above, these relationships had steadily deteriorated since 1847. Meanwhile, as the spirit of abolitionism took possession of the western churches, Congregationalism also expanded as an ecclesiastical force, taking deeper rootage, and adopting a more "national" view. With each succeeding year onward from 1852, however, the New School Presbyterian General Assembly moved further away from actual cosponsorship of the American Home Missionary Society until constituting the PRESBYTERIAN COMMITTEE OF HOME MISSIONS in 1861.¹⁵⁸

In the face of such a crisis in its affairs, the Society deemed it more expedient to raise more penetrating questions (at the time of their applying for aid) concerning the attitude of the churches toward the slavery system. It reserved the right to refuse its aid to congregations comprising slaveholders even at the risk of losing the declining patronage of the New School Presbyterian Church. Cooperative church extension as known hitherto ceased abruptly upon the withdrawal of the New School General Assembly from the Society's operations in 1861.¹⁵⁹ Forward from this date the A. H. M. S. operated exclusively in behalf of the Congregational churches.

The American Home Missionary Society and the American Missionary Association composed their differences of policy over the question of slavery, formerly regarded as impenetrable barriers to unity, when both agencies simultaneously made common cause in protecting the freedom of Kansas and Nebraska.¹⁶⁰ Finally, the outbreak of the Civil War brought a unitary viewpoint pertaining to the difficulties experienced earlier by these organizations over the question of the toleration of slavery within, and its condonance by, churches turning to them for support both moral and financial. By 1861, in whatever stations their appointees were assigned to labor, prior assurances must be furnished both agencies that the home mission congregations had no connections whatever with the system of slavery.

FOOTNOTES

1. Figure 1, the map showing A. H. M. S. Pastors in the Old Northwest in Period I, 1826-1837, was made by the writer. (Photostatic reproduction by the University of Chicago Libraries.) For the above statistics, the reader is referred to my doctoral dissertation, "The Operations of the American Home Missionary Society in the Old Northwest, 1826-1861," University of Chicago, 1947. See also my article, "A Glimpse of Home Missionary Activities in the Old Northwest, 1826-1861," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XXVII (June, 1949), 89-116.
2. For a very important study of this question the reader is referred to Jesse Brundage Sears, Philanthropy in the History of American Higher Education (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1922). [U. S. Dept. of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1922, No. 26.] See also Footnote 18, *infra*.
3. For the text of the Ordinance of 1787, Article VI in particular, see William MacDonald (ed.), Documentary Source Book of American History (3d ed., New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926), pp. 209-216.
4. Figure 2, Map A36r Slavery, 1776 to 1849, used by the kind permission of the publishers, the Denoyer-Geppert Co., Chicago, Ill.
5. Burke A. Hinsdale, The Old Northwest: The Beginnings of Our Colonial System (rev. ed.; Boston: Silver, Burdett and Co., 1899), Ch. xviii; Ulrich B. Phillips, American Negro Slavery (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1918), p. 170. For the manner in which the home missionaries conducted themselves in a slavery environment, the reader is referred to the fully documented study by Charles T. Thrift, Jr., "The Operations of the American Home Missionary Society in the South, 1826-1861," Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1936.
6. Francis P. Weisenburger, The Passing of the Frontier, 1825-1850 (Columbus, O.: The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1941), p. 40. [Vol. III of the History of the State of Ohio, Carl Wittke, ed.] The U. S. Census of 1830 listed only six slaves in all of Ohio. But the official enumeration did not begin to describe the actual social and political status of Negroes in that state.
7. Weisenburger, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
8. The reader is referred to the excellent study by Lulu M. Johnson, "The Problem of Slavery in the Old Northwest, 1780-1851," Ph. D. Dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1941.
9. See M. M. Fishback, "Illinois Legislation on Slavery and Free Negroes, 1818-1865," Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1904 (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Historical Society, 1904), pp. 414-432.
10. Solon J. Buck, Illinois in 1818 (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1917), p. 282. [Introductory volume in the Illinois Centennial Publications.] No interference was contemplated with the operation of the salines near Shawneetown; the hiring of slaves for a period not to exceed one year was permitted.
11. For the views of a missionary laboring in Missouri see the MS letter of the Rev. T. R. Durfee (cf. Home Missionary, May, 1829), who stated: "Here let me mention what I fear will be a permanent obstacle to a regular and competent support of a ministry in this state. This obstacle is found in the existence of slavery. Slave-holders purchase extensive plantations and in this way the inhabitants are kept in a scattered state. They are too far removed from each other to unite in the formation of religious societies, and in the support of a stated minister of the Gospel. This evil, it is true, will not exist in towns, and it may find a partial remedy in a minister's dividing his time between two or three settlements; but this remedy is after all only partial, and such a state of things will always diminish the effect attending the dispensation of God's word.
I am aware that I have now touched a subject of very delicate nature. Slavery perhaps exists in its mildest form in this state. But it is still a great evil, and one that is most sensibly felt by slaveholders themselves. How is this evil to be removed? Not by denouncing the slaveholder as an unprincipled and unfeeling man. This only tends to aggravate the difficulty. It must be removed by action and not by declamation.

The people at the East must feel that there is a duty devolving upon them in relation to this subject. The evil is attached to us as a nation, and if it is ever removed we must as individuals of this nation contribute our proportion. When an owner of slaves tells me that he knows and feels that slavery is a crying sin and that he will freely relinquish his slaves or even that he will relinquish one half of their value on condition that he be compensated for the other half, and provision be made for their transportation, I feel that he has made a generous proposal, and I cannot charge him with all the guilt of slavery though he may continue to be a slave-holder.

Slavery is a subject of much feeling among us, and never have I conversed with a slave-holder who did not profess himself a warm friend of the Colonization Society. It should be remembered that the laws of the slave-holding states are such that the slave-holder cannot emancipate his slaves unless provision is made for their immediate transportation." T. R. Durfee to Absalom Peters, Callaway Co., Mo., Feb. 24, 1829. (Papers of the American Home Missionary Society in the Charles G. Hammond Library of the Chicago Theological Seminary, 5757 University Ave., Chicago, Ill. Hereinafter these primary source materials will be referred to as the A. H. M. S. Papers.)

12. Buck, op. cit., p. 282. See Theodore C. Pease, The Frontier State, 1818-1848 (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1918), Ch. iv. [Vol. II of the Centennial History of Illinois, Clarence W. Alvord, ed.] See William T. Utter, The Frontier State, 1803-1825 (Columbus, O.: The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1942), pp. 327-328. [Vol. II, History of the State of Ohio, Carl Wittke, ed.] See also Charles Kettelborough, Constitution Making in Indiana, 1780-1851 (Indianapolis, Ind.: Indiana Historical Commission, 1916), p. lii. [Vol. II, Indiana Historical Collections.]

13. E. G. Howe to Absalom Peters, Springfield, Ill., May 23, 1826. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

14. Dr. H. G. Taylor to Absalom Peters, Jacksonville, Ill., Aug. 7, 1828. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

15. John M. Ellis to Absalom Peters, Springfield, Ill., Jan. 25, 1828. (A. H. M. S. Papers.) Ellis here was weighing the respective claims of the free states as over against those of the slave states as to their entitlement to additional home missionary aid. His argument was that the greater prosperity of the former ought to furnish the basis for the allotment of the ministerial supply. The A. H. M. S., he thought, should send the larger proportion of men to the free states since the settlers there were regarded as "lively materials to be moulded by the plastic hand of Patriotic and Christian benevolence."

16. Records, Synod of Indiana (New School), October, 1826-October, 1845, Vol. I, p. 96. Typed transcripts of the original MSS. (Virginia Library, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.)

17. James H. Johnston, A Ministry of Forty Years in Indiana (Indianapolis: Holloway, Douglass and Co., 1865), pp. 12-19. The author of the Ministry had been a commissioner in the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1829. At this session it was deemed "inexpedient" to consider the above resolutions of the Indiana Synod which had been prepared by the Rev. John F. Crow of Hanover College. Though Johnston was the agent for the A. H. M. S. in the State of Indiana, his letters contain no mention whatever of the antislavery controversy among the Presbyterians in the entire pre-Civil War period. Concerning the 1829 session of the General Assembly, Johnston stated as follows: "Could the General Assembly have been prevailed upon at that time to adopt the course recommended in that memorial; could they have been induced to adhere to their former testimony [1818]; had they shown a determination to act in accordance with their former resolutions . . . ; had they done this, and persevered in this course, with all the influence which such a body as the General Assembly could have wielded, it is not too much to say, that the history of the Presbyterian Church in the United States [of America], from that time onward, would have been entirely different from what it now is." Johnston was writing, of course, with the benefit of a long perspective view of the events through which his denomination had been passing since his early years in Indiana.

18. Robert S. Fletcher, A History of Oberlin College from Its Foundation through the Civil War (2 vols.; Oberlin, O.: Oberlin College, 1943), Vol. I, 183, 260-261. See also John Frederick Lyons, "The Attitude of Presbyterians in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois toward Slavery, 1825-1861," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XI (1921), 69-82, and Frederick Irving Kuhns, "Home Missions and Education in the Old Northwest," ibid., XXXI (Sept., 1953), 137-155, and ibid., XXXII (March, 1954), 19-36.

19. This society was formed on March 8, 1836, with nine members. Preamble and Constitution of the Anti-Slavery Society of Hanover College and Indiana Theological Seminary, with Miscellaneous

Articles on the Subject of Slavery (Hanover, Ind.: James Morrow, 1836), p. 16. (Library of the Indiana State Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, Ind.)

20. For the text see William Warren Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, II: The Presbyterians (New York: Harper and Bros., 1936), pp. 118, 841-844.

21. R. Braden Moore, History of Huron Presbytery (Philadelphia: William F. Fell and Co., 1892), pp. 113 ff. Moore also states that the Synod of Michigan discussed the Chillicothe resolutions with a view to adopting them. The writer has been unable to find that that synod passed the resolutions in their original form (the MS Minutes have been examined). However, the Michigan Synod was intensely abolitionist in temper. See Lewis G. Vander Velde, "The Synod of Michigan and Movements for Social Reform, 1834-1869," Church History, V (March, 1936), 52-70.

22. Samuel Bissell to Absalom Peters, Edinburgh, O., Nov. 17, 1836. (A. H. M. S. Papers.) Bissell stated: "Sad to tell there were some half a dozen members of the church, when I came here, among whom was the Deacon, that were so exclusive in their views on the subject of Antislavery that they felt and some of the leading ones did not hesitate to say that they could not conscientiously support a Minister who was not a member of the Antislavery society. Accordingly every effort was made to get up an influence against me; not because I opposed the object or ever have the public to understand but I was a member of the society, but because these persons happened to know that I did not belong to it. It was not till I had been here a year, that those opposed to abolitionism, learned, & then not from me, that I was not a member of the society. Every species of abuse was heaped upon me by these few anti-slavery men till I concluded to close my services. In the whole course of my ministry I had never rec'd such treatment nor ever felt such distress. . . . I had been driven away from a most affectionate church by the means of a rum selling Dea., & now to be driven off again by the intollerance of Abolitionism, seems very peculiar indeed and exceedingly distressing."

23. Daniel W. Lathrop to Absalom Peters, Amherst, O., Feb. 27, 1836. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

24. Joseph C. Lovejoy and Owen Lovejoy, Memoir of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy (New York: John S. Taylor, 1838), p. 180.

25. Owen Lovejoy to James G. Birney, Alton, Ill., Dec. 9, 1837. (MS letter, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Ill.)

26. Perhaps they discounted the value this information would have in the New York office of the A. H. M. S., but perhaps they reasoned that it might be best not to put their full thoughts on paper lest others as outspoken as Lovejoy be injured.

27. The MSS letters of the Rev. Albert Hale to Absalom Peters, Bethel, Ill., Nov. 13, Dec. 9, 1837, and that of the Rev. Theron Baldwin to Milton Badger, Monticello, Ill., Jan. 19, 1838. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

28. MS Minutes, Synod of Illinois (New School), Vol. I, p. 137. Resolutions on the death of Lovejoy were recorded also upon the MS Records, Presbytery of Alton, Vol. I, 1836-1850, pp. 31-32, dated Upper Alton, Ill., Nov. 15, 1837. The same MS Records (p. 41, dated Alton, Ill., July 26, 1838) contain the account of the licensure of Owen Lovejoy to preach. (Virginia Library, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.)

29. William Warren Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, III: The Congregationalists (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 177-178.

30. MS Minutes, Illinois State Anti-Slavery Society, pp. 11, 15. (Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.)

31. Flavel Bascom to Milton Badger, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 3, 1842; Charles Dickinson to Milton Badger, Peru, Ill., Dec. 17, 1842; cf. Milton Badger to T. B. Hurlbut, New York, N. Y., Jan. 20, 1843, in Letter Book P, No. 485. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

32. Sweet, The Congregationalists, p. 206.

33. Asa Turner, "Reminiscences of Dr. Nelson," Congregational Herald, May 21, July 2, 9, 23, 30, 1857. (Hammond Library.) For Nelson's own account of the missionary institutes see the New York Evangelist, March 25, April 1, June 17, 24, July 1, 1837. (Courtesy of the New York Public Library.)

34. Western Citizen, Dec. 4, 1843. The file of this important paper is at the Chicago Historical Society.

35. Turner, "Reminiscences," op. cit.

36. Julius A. Reed to Milton Badger, Warsaw, Ill., Feb. 11, 1839. (A. H. M. S. Papers.) The trouble arose in that church when one of the deacons married a slaveholding Methodist lady. Part owner of the building in which the services had been held, this man threatened to close it entirely against preaching if Reed was not dropped. Cf. Sweet, The Congregationalists, p. 207. (The MS letter of Reed there cited from is not in the files at Hammond Library today.)

37. Samuel G. Wright to Milton Badger, French Creek, Peoria Co., Ill., Dec. 27, 1842. (A. H. M. S. Papers.) See also the MS Journal of Missionary Labor performed in Stark, Knox, Henry & Peoria Counties by S. G. Wright, commencing Dec. 24th, 1841, and closing Jan. 1st, 1844, Book C., pp. 49, 54. (Library of Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.; typescript at Chicago Congregational Union, 19 So. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.)

38. Western Citizen, May 9, 1844.

39. Ibid., May 16, 1844; see also Samuel G. Wright to Milton Badger, French Creek, Ill., Dec. 30, 1843. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

40. Figure 3, the map showing A. H. M. S. Pastors in the Old Northwest in Period II, 1838-1852, was made by the writer. (Photostats reproduced by the University of Chicago Libraries.)

41. S. W. Magill to Absalom Peters, Bryan Co., Ga., Sept. 21, 1837; Absalom Peters to S. W. Magill, New York (date illegible), in Letter Book K, No. 176. (A. H. M. S. Papers.) Cf. Colin B. Goodykoontz, Home Missions on the American Frontier: With Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1939), p. 289.

42. A. H. M. S. Report, 1844, p. 95; Home Missionary, XVII (June, 1844), 42.

43. Goodykoontz, op. cit., pp. 289-290. (The original Tappan letter is not in the files of the A. H. M. S. Papers at Hammond Library today.)

44. Oliver Emerson to Milton Badger, De Witt, I. T., Mar. 29, 1844; same to same, Aug. 16, 1844. (A. H. M. S. Papers.) See also Emerson's letter in American Missionary, I (Feb., 1847), 30. (Hammond Library Collections.)

45. Milton Badger to Oliver Emerson, New York, July 19, 1844; Milton Badger to Lewis Tappan, New York, July 27, 1844, in Letter Book R, Nos. 295, 312. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

The A. H. M. S. contended that the support of missionaries in slave states was a poor investment of its funds. Yet, in pointing to the results obtained by the "Missouri Band" of ten A. H. M. S. appointees who worked with him, Dr. Artemas Bullard, A. H. M. S. agent at St. Louis, stated: "We are just where we can show to the world that Yankees can do something in a slave state even if we can have a few more such men as we obtained last fall. I think you see our men the 2nd year do not cost you more than in new free states. I think they are now as contented as the same number would have been had they gone to Iowa; though men will not overcome contentedly half the difficulties in a slave state they will in a free. All troubles here are attributed to this cause." Artemas Bullard to Milton Badger, St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 8, 1846. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

That the A. H. M. S. adhered to the policy of refusing employment to slaveholding ministers is borne out by the further testimony of Dr. Bullard, who advised against the employment of the Rev. Isaac W. K. Handy of Berlin, Md., though still believing him "a good man & not holding slaves for gain." "Still," Bullard wrote, "you cannot make discrimination between those who are voluntarily & consequently wickedly holding slaves, & those who are involuntarily & innocently in that relation. You had better not dirty your Society by touching the filthy thing." Artemas Bullard to Milton Badger, St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 24, 1844; cf. Isaac W. K. Handy to Milton Badger and Charles Hall, Berlin Md., April 26, 1844. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

46. Oliver Emerson to Milton Badger, De Witt, I. T., Aug. 16, 1844. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

47. See Gilbert H. Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844 (New York: Appleton-Century Co, 1933), passim.

48. Home Missionary, XX (May, 1847), 1; American Missionary, I (July, 1847), 1; ibid., III (March, 1849), 44.
49. Map and Illustrations of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1845 (New York, 1845). [Vol. I, Missionary Discourses, Hammond Library Collections.]
50. Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1845, pp. 54-63.
51. Lewis Tappan, History of the American Missionary Association: Its Constitutions and Principles, etc. (New York, 1855), pp. 17-19. The microfilm of the original copy in the Missionary Research Library at Union Theological Seminary in New York is a recent accession of the University of Chicago Libraries.
52. Thrift, op. cit., Ch. iii.
53. Goodykoontz, op. cit., pp. 292-293.
54. Oliver Emerson to Milton Badger, De Witt, I. T., Aug. 16, 1844; John G. Fee to Messrs. Badger and Hall, Cabin Creek, Ky., Aug. 29, 1848; Milo N. Miles to Milton Badger, Metamora, Ill., Mar. 1, 1850; same to same, Oct. 1, 1850. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)
55. Tappan, op. cit., p. 3.
56. William C. Walzer, "Charles Grandison Finney and the Presbyterian Revivals in Central and Western New York," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1944, supplies a much needed contribution at this point.
57. National Era, June 17, Dec. 30, 1847; Western Citizen, Jan. 28, 1851; American Missionary, II (Aug., 1848), 77.
58. American Missionary, I-X (1846-1856) contains references to these conflicting policies. [Vols. I-VI are at the Hammond Library. Vols. VII-X were loaned to the writer by Oberlin College.] The MS letters of the appointees of the A. M. A. have not been consulted. These latter are now at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., but have not as yet been made available to scholars. Fletcher (op. cit., I, 260-261) mentions the work of Lloyd Hennings, "The American Missionary Association: A Christian Anti-slavery Society," M. A. thesis, Oberlin College (1933), as being the best available treatment on the subject. The writer has had the pleasure of reading Hennings' work though he found in it no mention of the serious controversy between the A. M. A. and the A. H. M. S. See the important editorial, "The American Home Missionary Society and Slavery," American Missionary, VII (April, 1853), 44-47, for the essential points of difference in these policies. (Photostats in the writer's possession.)
59. At the outbreak of the Civil War the home missionary operations of the A. M. A. were "virtually suspended," and the organization then gave its attention primarily to the border and slave states. A. M. A. Fifteenth Report, 1861, p. 52. In the course of time some of the A. M. A. stations in the Old Northwest were assumed and manned by the A. H. M. S. For the beautiful story of the whole century of development of the A. M. A. the reader is referred to the exciting book by the retiring executive secretary, Rev. Fred Brownlee, New Day Ascending (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1946).
60. For a summary of the important events occurring within the New School Presbyterian Church during these years see my article, "Slavery and Missions in the Old Northwest," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XXIV (Dec., 1946), 205-222.
61. See my article, "New Light on the Plan of Union," ibid., XXVI (March, 1948), 19-43.
62. Figure 4, Map A37r Slavery, 1850 to 1865, used by the kind permission of the publishers, the Denoyer-Geppert Co., Chicago, Illinois.
63. Good examples: the church at Austinburg (Richfield), the oldest Congregational church in the Western Reserve (founded in 1801), and the churches at Gustavus, Streetsboro, and Charlestown—all in Ohio. Ohio Observer, June 18, 1835, Feb. 8, 1844, Sept. 10, 1845, Jan. 7, 1846. (Courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.)
64. Herald of the Prairies, April 7, 1847. (Virginia Library.) I have here interpolated several pages dealing with the posture of the churches on Ohio's Western Reserve from my doctoral dissertation (where the full documentation is contained in Chs. iii and v) to demonstrate that, apart from special

considerations of church polity and, to a limited extent also, marked differences of theology, the churches could achieve a unified attitude on the question of opposing slavery.

65. MS Minutes, Congregational Association of Central Ohio, p. 25. (Library of Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.)

66. MS Records, General Association of the Western Reserve, 1836-1850, pp. 22, 34, 61: (Library of Oberlin College.)

67. Ibid., pp. 71-72.

68. Ibid., p. 83.

69. Among Illinois New School Presbyterians two church bodies had been erected, namely, the Presbytery of Ottawa in 1834, and the Presbytery of Galena in 1841. Thus two Presbyterian bodies and two Congregational bodies coexisted in northern Illinois. In 1839 the Ottawa Presbytery proposed a plan of merger with the Fox River Congregational Union, but this failed of consummation. In view of the fact that nearly all of the ministers and churches in these four church bodies enjoyed the subsidies of the A. H. M. S., it was thought desirable to set up an ecclesiastical organization similar to that which functioned in Wisconsin Territory. The First Presbyterian Church of Chicago was host annually in May, 1840-1842 inclusive, to a Convention of the New School Presbyterians and the Congregationalists, the formal plan arrived at contemplating the establishment of the General Convention of Northern Illinois, the wiping out of the original boundaries of the presbyteries and the associations, and the erection of two district conventions to be known, respectively, as the Congregational and Presbyterian Convention of Chicago, and the Presbyterian and Congregational Convention of Rock River. These two bodies were to embrace all the territory north of the great bend in the Illinois River from east to west and reaching to the Wisconsin line. But this plan also broke down for reasons touching either church polity or ministerial theology. On antislavery matters they stood together.

I have interpolated the above sections from my doctoral dissertation, Ch. iv, for the purpose of demonstrating that even at this relatively early date (1842) in the history of Illinois church life, the question of denominationalism had not yet divided the churches operating under the A. H. M. S. when their attention was concentrated upon the slavery issue.

Some of these sections derive from the writer's research in which he was engaged for several years in behalf of the Congregational and Christian Conference of Illinois. A volume in recognition of the centennial observance of the Conference contains a Map and several Tables prepared by the writer, to which reference may profitably be made in studying the growth of Congregationalism in Illinois. See Matthew Spinka (ed.), A History of the Congregational and Christian Churches of Illinois (Chicago: Congregational and Christian Conference of Illinois, 1944). My gratitude to the Conference is herewith expressed for the kind permission granted me to quote from its copyrighted work.

70. Sweet, The Congregationalists, pp. 177-178, 201, 202, 204-207.

71. Western Citizen, Sept. 14, 1843. For an outline sketch of the Rock River Congregational Association see Spinka, op. cit., pp. 81 ff.

72. Joseph E. Roy, "Fifty Years of Home Missions," in Jubilee Papers (Ottawa, Ill., 1894), p. 19. (Bound with Church Historical Documents, a collection of Congregational anniversary papers filed in Hammond Library, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.)

73. William E. Barton, Joseph Edwin Roy, 1827-1908: A Faithful Servant of God and of His Own Generation (Oak Park, Ill.: Puritan Press, 1908).

74. Western Citizen, July 18, 1844.

75. Asa Donaldson to Charles Hall, Dover, Ill., Nov. 11, 1845. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

76. Herald of the Prairies, June 23, 1847. (Virginia Library.)

77. Aratus Kent to Milton Badger, Naperville, Ill., Aug. 29, 1848. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

78. Western Citizen, Sept. 14, 1843.

79. Ibid., Nov. 16, 1843.

80. Ibid., Nov. 29, 1844.

81. Ibid., Aug. 1, Oct. 1, 1844.
82. Western Herald, Jan. 27, Feb. 17, 1847. (Virginia Library.)
83. Western Citizen, Jan. 25, April 11, May 29, July 4, 18, 1844; Oct. 8, 1845.
84. Ibid., Dec. 22, 1846; Nov. 19, 1850.
85. Spinka, op. cit., pp. 91-95. See also MS Records, General Association of Illinois, Vol. I, pp. 8-9. (Hammond Library.)
86. MS Records, General Association of Illinois, Vol. I, pp. 82-84. See also American Missionary, IV (1850), 75.
87. Western Citizen, Feb. 13, 1845.
88. Ibid., July 14, 1846; see also Western Herald, July 1, 1846. (Virginia Library.)
89. The MS Records of the Central Congregational Association apparently have been lost. With thirty-five ministers and delegates present in 1850, the Association (meeting at Providence) duplicated the action of the General Association, hereinbefore referred to, but "in a somewhat intenser form." Milo N. Miles to A. H. M. S. secretaries, Metamora, Ill., June 5, 1850. (A. H. M. S. Papers.) Further action of the Central Association, and personal activities of President Blanchard were reported in the Western Citizen, April 2, June 11, Nov. 19, 1850, Jan. 21, Mar. 18, 25, May 6, July 8, 15, 22, 29, Aug. 19, 26, Sept. 2, Nov. 18, 1851. See also Prairie Herald, April 22, 29, 1851, and the Independent, Sept. 25, 1851. (Virginia Library.)
90. Western Citizen, July 13, 1847, April 25, 1848; Herald of the Prairies, Oct. 25, 1848.
91. Frederick Kuhns and Frederic Chamberlain, The Congregational Church of Three Oaks, 1844-1944 (Three Oaks, Mich.: Edward K. Warren Foundation, 1944), pp. 10, 20.
92. MS Records, Kalamazoo Congregational Association, Vol. I, pp. 23-24. (Courtesy of the Rev. Gerald E. Maggart, Association Registrar, St. Joseph, Mich.)
93. For additional samples of the action of the Kalamazoo Association, cited from the MS Records, see Kuhns and Chamberlain, op. cit., pp. 46-49.
94. Stephen Peet to Milton Badger and Charles Hall, Beloit, Wis., Oct. 31, 1848. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)
95. The Convention first disposed of the Plan of Union of 1801 and the "accommodation plans" of 1808 and 1813 which had applied to the Congregational churches in New York State. It then gave its attention to the slavery problem. "So happy a result of a discussion, from which many had anticipated evil, called forth at once a devout expression of gratitude from the Convention, which closed the labors of the day." Proceedings of the General Convention of Congregational Ministers and Delegates in the United States: Held at Albany, N. Y., on the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th of October, 1852. Together with the Sermon Preached on the Occasion, by Rev. Joel Hawes, D. D., with an Appendix, Containing the Principal Debates (New York: S. W. Benedict, 1852), p. 90. (Hammond Library.)
96. Spinka, op. cit., pp. 110-112.
97. The file of the Congregational Herald (1853-1861) is complete, except for the issue of September 14, 1854. (Hammond Library.) See my article, "End of Joint Missionary Work by Presbyterians and Congregationalists in 1861," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XXVIII (Dec., 1950), 249-269.
98. The map showing A. H. M. S. Pastors in the Old Northwest in Period III, 1853-1861, was made by the writer. (Photostats by the University of Chicago Libraries.)
99. "Report on the Relations of the American Home Missionary Society to Slavery," in Minutes of the General Association of Michigan, 1853, Appendix. (Hammond Library.)
100. Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers of the State of Iowa, 1840-1855 (Hull, Ia., 1888), p. 7. (Hammond Library.)
101. The chief purpose in holding these conventions was to strengthen the various Protestant educational societies, especially the "college movement" in the new western states; to provide for a wider

distribution of Bibles and Christian tracts; to stir enthusiasm for missionary work; to foster the Bethel societies, and to discuss kindred interests of both denominations. Also discussed was the prospect of pooling Protestant effort to offset the gains of the Roman Catholic Church at the West.

102. Home Missionary, XVIII (Sept., 1845), 120-121.

103. Minutes of the Presbyterian and Congregational Convention, Held at Cleveland, Ohio, June 20, 1844, p. 16: "Resolved, That this Convention hereby solemnly declare their unqualified reprobation of American slavery, as a great moral, personal, and political evil; threatening, if not speedily abandoned, ruin to the best interests of the nation; and that it is the imperious duty of all men, in all suitable ways, to make known their hearty disapprobation of American slavery; specially, by avoiding all such fellowship with those who uphold it, as might imply, directly or indirectly, any connivance at its perpetuity or extension." See also the Minutes of the Presbyterian and Congregational Convention, Held at Detroit, June 20, 1845, pp. 27-32, for the reaffirmation of the above resolutions; and the Minutes of the Presbyterian and Congregational Convention, Held at Chicago, June 17, 1847, pp. 26-27, for the report of the Rev. Flavel Bascom. The resolution in condemnation of the Mexican War is found on pp. 36-38. (These documents were loaned to the writer by the Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.)

104. Annie H. Abel, The Slave Holding Indians, I: The American as Slave Holder and Secessionist; An Omitted Chapter in the Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1915), pp. 39-44.

105. (Offered by Rev. Flavel Bascom, minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago at the time specified.) Minutes . . . of the Convention . . . at Chicago, 1847, pp. 26-27. The convention met in the Second Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Robert W. Patterson, minister. Accounts of its proceedings were carried also in the Western Citizen, July 13, 1847, and the Herald of the Prairies, June 23, 30, 1847.

That the slavery question caused agitation among Chicago Presbyterians may be taken from the fact that the Third Presbyterian Church was organized on July 1, 1847. Herald of the Prairies, July 14, 1847. This new church came as a colony out of First church when the movement to organize a Congregational church proved abortive. Flavel Bascom to Cor. Secys., A. H. M. S., Chicago, Ill., Feb. 15, 1847: "My church is passing through a crisis. They are preparing to build a large house. A Colony of radical abolitionists and ultra Congregationalists (strictly Independents) is about leaving us. This will be likely to leave the church in a more settled & less precarious state, and perhaps a stranger could then safely take the helm." (A. H. M. S. Papers.) Bascom left First Presbyterian Church in 1849, following the dedication of the new edifice. "Deacon" Philo Carpenter was a charter member of First church (founded in 1833), and later he became a member of Third church. When the Chicago Presbytery reacted adversely against the members of Third church in 1851, the First Congregational Church was then organized, owing principally to Carpenter's influence. Spinka, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-106. See also the Centennial Celebration, First Congregational Church of Chicago, 1851-1951 (published by the church). A copy is filed in Hammond Library.

106. Minutes of the Christian Anti-Slavery Convention, Assembled April 17-20, 1850, Cincinnati, Ohio (Cincinnati, 1850.) (Library of Oberlin College.)

107. American Missionary, IV (Aug., 1850), 81. In its monthly publication, the Free Missionary, the W. H. and F. M. A. kept up a running fire on the A. B. C. F. M. and the A. H. M. S. for their unsatisfactory policies with regard to slavery. Later, the Christian Press was published by the W. H. and F. M. A. A few issues of both of these papers, also some of the Free Presbyterian (organ of the Free Synod of Cincinnati) are at the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland, Ohio.

108. Minutes of the Christian Anti-Slavery Convention, Held July 3, 4, 5, 1851, at Chicago, Illinois (Chicago: Western Citizen Press, 1851). (Library of Oberlin College; also the Chicago Historical Society.) See also the Free Missionary, Mar. 1, 1851.

109. It was not long until Blanchard was saying over and over again that the involvement of the New School Presbyterians with slavery was being shielded by the "religious respectability of the American Home Missionary Society." Western Citizen, Nov. 18, 1851.

110. Christian Press, Dec. 24, 1852.

111. Western Citizen, Aug. 12, 1851; July 20, 1852.

112. Prairie Herald, June 24, July 1, 8, 1851; Western Citizen, Mar. 18, 1851; Independent, July 3, 24, 1851. See also Aratus Kent to Milton Badger, Galena, Ill., July 12, 1851. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

113. Perhaps in the long run it was not in the best interests of the two colleges concerned that Blanchard and Sturtevant locked horns over home missionary and antislavery disputations affecting the existing church situation. Jealousies were aroused, not only between Illinois and Knox colleges, but also between the New School Presbyterians and the Congregationalists. In addition, such questions as the respective standards of scholarship in the two colleges, the domination of the college boards of trustees by ardent denominational pleaders, the receipt of financial aid from the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West, and the support of local congregations, drew down heated debate. The turmoil thus generated had much to do with bringing about the final separation of the two denominations. See Minutes of the General Association of Illinois, 1859 (Ottawa, Ill., 1859), passim.

114. Western Citizen, Nov. 19, 1850; Jan. 21, 1851.

115. Philo Carpenter to Messrs. Hall and Badger, Chicago, Ill., May 30, 1851. (A. H. M. S. Papers.) Carpenter related the organization of the First Congregational Church, and enclosed newspaper clippings from the Western Citizen and the Prairie Herald containing the actions of the Presbytery of Chicago, the Third Presbyterian Church, and the First Congregational Church, besides a long letter from Jonathan Blanchard in regard to the recent action of the Chicago Presbytery.

116. MS Records, Presbytery of Chicago (New School), 1847-1870, pp. 71-77. (Virginia Library.) See Prairie Herald, April 8, May 6, 13, 20, 27, 1851; Western Citizen, Feb. 11, 18, Mar. 4, 11, April 22, 29, May 6, 13, 20, 27, June 3, 1851. See also Spinka, op. cit., pp. 103-106; History and Manual of the Third Presbyterian Church in Chicago, Compiled October 1, 1852 (Chicago: Democratic Press Print, 1852.) [Chicago Historical Society Collections.] See also History of the Organization of the First Congregational Church of Chicago; With the Causes That Led to Such an Organization, Together with the Articles of Faith and Covenant, to which is added a List of the Members (Chicago: Whitmarsh and Fulton, 1852); Manual of the First Congregational Church of Chicago, Illinois; including Historical Sketch and Catalogue, and a Compend of Congregationalism (Chicago: Church, Goodman and Cushing, ca. 1857). [Hammond Library Collections.]

117. Spinka, op. cit., pp. 103-106.

118. Christian Era (Vol. I, No. 9), February 24, 1851. That issue, the only one the present writer has been able to find, is folded into the autograph letter, William Carter to Milton Badger, Pittsfield, Ill., Mar. 24, 1851. (A. H. M. S. Papers.) Subscribers were urged to obtain as many signatures as possible and to send the petition to Secretary Badger at New York City prior to the annual meeting of the A. H. M. S. in May. It was stated in the issue cited that 61 out of 1,032 missionaries were laboring in the slave states, the figure given in the Society's Annual Report. It is not known how many such petitions were sent in, but the calling of the missionary convention at Chicago is presumptive evidence that Badger and his colleagues were gravely concerned.

119. Flavel Bascom to A. H. M. S. secretaries, Galesburg, Ill., Jan. 9, 1851. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

120. Bascom to Badger, June, 1851. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

121. William Carter to Milton Badger, Pittsfield, Ill., May 4, 1851. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

122. Lucius H. Parker to A. H. M. S. secretaries, Galesburg, Ill., 1851. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

123. William Kirby to Milton Badger, Jacksonville, Ill., April 4, 1851. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

124. Kirby to Badger, Nov. 21, 1851. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

125. Aratus Kent to Milton Badger, Galena, Ill., July 12, 1851. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

126. Relation of the Presbyterian Church to the Work of Home Missions: Report of the General Assembly's Committee of Investigation; Presented at Pittsburgh, May, 1860 (New York: John A. Gray, 1860), pp. 24-25. (Virginia Library.)

127. Home Missionary, XX (May, 1847), 3. It was a source of gratification to the editor of the American Missionary, organ of the rival A. M. A., "to find the American Home Missionary Society

giving publicity to such facts," even though the policy of the A. H. M. S. fell short of that followed by the A. M. A. American Missionary, I (July, 1847), 1.

128. Home Missionary, XX (May, 1847), 3.

129. Ibid., XXI (Feb., 1849), 233. The rejoinder in the American Missionary was in the same ironic vein as previously: "We rejoice that the American Home Missionary Society is calling the attention of the Christian world to this truth." American Missionary, III (March, 1849), 44.

130. Home Missionary, XXIII (Nov., 1850), 159-160.

131. T. S. Reeve to Milton Badger, St. Joseph, Mo., Aug. 6, 1850. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

132. Home Missionary, XXIII (Nov., 1850), 160.

133. Ibid., XXV (March, 1853), 266.

134. Ibid. Cf. Minutes of the General Association of Michigan, 1853, p. 48 of the Appendix. The A. H. M. S. Papers bear out the fact that the missionaries stationed in the Old Northwest believed that the time had come to let the churches in the slave states go their own way. Yet their reaction to the renunciation of the Plan of Union of 1801 by the Albany Congregational Convention (1852) was by no means unanimously in favor of that step. Many of the Congregational missionaries in the Old Northwest were at one with their New School Presbyterian brethren in deploring this abrogation of interdenominational work. See the MS letters of Samuel G. Wright, Toulon, Ill., June 29, 1852; James Boggs, New Corydon, Ind., Aug. 5, Oct. 11, 1852; N. C. Clarke, Elgin, Ill., Nov. 12, 1852; C. F. Hudson, Batavia, Ill., June 12, 1852; Joseph H. Payne, Libertyville, Ill., Feb. 28, 1852; Henry C. Abernethy, Columbus, Ill., Oct. 25, 1852; James H. Baldwin, Waltham, Ill., Nov. 17, 1852. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

135. Home Missionary, XXV (March, 1853), 269.

136. Ibid., p. 268.

137. Proceedings at Albany, N. Y., etc., pp. 76-90; American Missionary, VII (Nov., 1852), 4.

138. The A. H. M. S. might argue that it stood on "the same ground as the great body of the New School Presbyterian and Congregational Churches," and that it was "fully sustained by their action," but it was stretching a point to claim this.

The American Missionary (April, 1853, p. 47) stated: "By asserting, then, that it accords with the doings of the General Assembly, the Secretaries aver that they fall short of the meaning attached to the Albany resolution by those who so enthusiastically adopted it, and that they intend so to do in time to come. But in one particular the Society, as represented by the Secretaries, does not come up to the mark of the General Assembly. In the famous resolution of 1850, that body gravely stated that it regarded and treated slaveholders as subjects of discipline, except in those cases where slavery 'is unavoidable by the laws of the State, the obligations of guardianship, or the demands of humanity'; coverts into which every slaveholder in the nation will fly; but the American Home Missionary Society does not avow its belief that slaveholding is a disciplinable offense at all, or declare that it will, in any case, counsel discipline for it. We do not award any praise to the General Assembly for the resolution alluded to, for no case of discipline has been reported since it was passed, and we presume none ever will be until slaveholding itself shall be generally considered an offense, and 'regarded and treated in the same manner as other offenses'; but we think the American Home Missionary Society can take little credit to itself when it falls short of what the General Assembly professed to do." (Photostats in the writer's possession.)

That a serious misunderstanding prevailed between the A. H. M. S. and the A. M. A. is fully evident from the correspondence which passed in the summer of 1854 between the secretaries of the two organizations, namely, the Rev. David B. Coe (A. H. M. S.) and the Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn (A. M. A.). Presumably, the A. H. M. S. was following the policy laid down in the Home Missionary for March, 1853, and had not profited by the criticisms of the A. M. A. contained in the American Missionary for April, 1853. Thus the public was under the impression that the policy which had been declared to be in force in March, 1853, was still operative a year later. Various ecclesiastical bodies likewise understood this to be the position of the A. H. M. S. The General Association of Connecticut, for example, in 1854, passed a resolution based on the assumption that the A. H. M. S. had already decided to refuse its aid to slaveholding churches, favoring such a policy (if it was in force) as the "correct" one, at least for a Christian agency. Minutes of the General Association of Connecticut, 1854, pp. 10-11.

The publication of the above Minutes precipitated the exchange of letters between Coe and Jocelyn. Jocelyn wrote for detailed information as to when and in which respects the policy of the A. H. M. S. had been altered. (S. S. Jocelyn to Milton Badger, New York, Aug. 1, 1854.) In reply, Jocelyn received a letter stating that "the position of the American Home Missionary Society is precisely that which the General Association of Connecticut, of their own accord, have endorsed." (David B. Coe to S. S. Jocelyn, New York, Aug. 3, 1854.) [Letter Books, 1854/1855, Vol. I, No. 673.] Coe also sarcastically referred to Jocelyn's alleged misquotation of the action of the Connecticut body. Reference to the Minutes, however, establishes the fact that it was Coe, not Jocelyn, who did a bit of misquoting. It was Jocelyn, not Coe, who correctly interpreted the action of the Connecticut Congregationalists. Thus, even the officers of the A. H. M. S. were unable precisely to define the policy of their organization with regard to the slavery problem.

139. The movement into Kansas and Nebraska is well described in the American Missionary, VIII (July, 1854), 75; ibid. (Aug., 1854), 85; ibid. (Sept., 1854), 92; ibid., IX (Nov., 1854), 5; ibid., X (Aug., 1856), 77-79; ibid. (Sept., 1856), 85-86.

140. A good study of the A. H. M. S. in Kansas is that of Donald R. Evans, "Congregationalism in Kansas, 1854-1900," B. D. thesis, Chicago Theological Seminary, 1939. (Hammond Library.) Evans, however, makes no reference to the activities of the A. M. A. in Kansas.

141. Homer C. Hockett, The Social and Political Growth of the American People, 1492-1865 (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942), pp. 649-687. Maps proving indispensable to the study of these westward migrations are on pp. 660-661, 682.

142. American Missionary, X (Nov., 1855), 14; ibid. (July, 1856), 69; ibid. (Sept., 1856), 85-86; ibid. (Oct., 1856), 93-94. Cf. O. R. Thom, "The American Missionary Association in Kentucky, Iowa, and Kansas," B. D. thesis, Chicago Theological Seminary, 1921. Thom made no corresponding study of the A. H. M. S. in those states.

143. American Missionary, X (June, 1856), 60.

144. Home Missionary, XXIX (May, 1856), 5-6.

145. Minutes of the General Association of Iowa, 1856, p. 7.

146. William Salter to Milton Badger, Burlington, Ia., Sept. 29, 1856; Milton Badger to William Salter, New York, April 20, 1857, in Letter Books, 1856/1857. (A. H. M. S. Papers.) See also Home Missionary, XXX (July, 1857), 61-62.

147. A. H. M. S. Reports, 1852-1861 inclusive.

148. The distinction between the "West" and the "South" hides the full significance of the peculiar position of Missouri in the relation of the slavery problem to the work of the A. H. M. S. In this case, the true distinction is not the geographical, but the social and the political, distinction. For Missouri was a slave state, and this fact vitally affected the interpretation of the slavery question by the churches involved in the struggle.

When the several Presbyterian papers commented adversely upon the resolutions of the A. H. M. S., the Congregational Herald (Chicago) pointed out that slavery was not then confined merely to the southern churches, but that slaveholders living in the cities of the Atlantic seaboard also were members of Presbyterian churches and should be accorded the same treatment (if the Society's aid were sought) as that given the southern churches. Quotations along this line were copied out by the Congregational Herald from the American Presbyterian (Philadelphia), New York Evangelist, and Christian Herald (Cincinnati). Even Dr. Albert Barnes of Philadelphia thought the resolutions too sweeping, as placing the welfare of the New School Presbyterian Church in jeopardy. See the Congregational Herald, March 12, 26, April 16, 23, 1857.

149. N. Ranney to Milton Badger, St. Louis, Mo., April 28, 1856. (A. H. M. S. Papers.)

150. The Alton (Ill.) Presbytery was only seeking to discharge its obligation, in accordance with the vote of the New School Presbyterian General Assembly, to plant the Presbyterian Church "in advance of all others." Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New School), 1855, pp. 21-22. See also Relation of the Presbyterian Church to the Work of Home Missions, etc., pp. 21-24. The A. H. M. S. cut off its subsidies to the churches in the Alton Presbytery in 1859.

151. That this interpretation is a reasonable one may be seen from the fact that the Missouri New School Presbyterian ministers, who were the beneficiaries of the A. H. M. S. when its policy of restricting aid to non-slaveholding churches was instituted in December, 1856, condemned this action, which had cut off their support from this source. The important auxiliary Missouri Home Missionary Society had already severed its connections with the A. H. M. S. as early as October, 1856, following the action taken by the General Congregational Association of Iowa (June, 1856). The Missourians denounced the Iowa Congregationalists as "a beggar association." Even more significant was the appeal of the Missourians to the New School Presbyterian General Assembly's Church Extension Committee to be taken under the care of the said Committee. But this appeal was nullified when the New School Synod of Missouri withdrew entirely from the General Assembly as the result of antislavery discussion; nor had this synod sent commissioners to the General Assembly after 1856. The customary reports were not even forwarded to the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly. As a result, the A. H. M. S. withheld its appointees for Missouri between 1857 and 1860, and the two who labored there in 1861 were both Congregationalists. See Timothy Hill to David B. Coe, St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 5, Mar. 10, April 2, May 12, 1857; J. R. Armstrong to David B. Coe, West Ely, Mo., June, 1857. (A. H. M. S. Papers.) See also the American Missionary, n. s., I (Nov., 1857), 261, and A. H. M. S. Report, 1861, p. 63.

152. A. H. M. S. Report, 1857, pp. 127-129.

153. Ibid., p. 129.

154. Ibid., pp. 57-58. The Congregational Herald was the first to publish the action of the A. H. M. S. Executive Committee. The associate editor of this thriving denominational weekly was the Rev. William W. Patton, recently called from Hartford, Conn., to the pastorate of the First Congregational Church of Chicago. In his paper for January 29, 1857, Patton ran an editorial relative to the action of the Executive Committee, which included an excerpt from a letter composed by one of its members. Inasmuch as the younger Patton's father, Dr. William Patton, a cofounder of Union Theological Seminary in New York in 1836, was a member of the Executive Committee, there could be scarcely any doubt as to the source of this story—a "scoop" for the Congregational Herald. (At least, A. H. M. S. Secretary David B. Coe entertained no doubt.) With the single exception of the Christian Herald (Cincinnati), the Presbyterian periodicals were aflame over the fracas in the Alton Presbytery, and denounced the A. H. M. S. for its presumption and its unfriendly action toward the New School congregations. See the Congregational Herald, Jan. 29, Mar. 12, 26, April 9, 16, 30, 1857. Cf. Home Missions and Slavery; A Reprint of Several Articles, Recently Published in the Religious Journals, with an Appendix (New York: John A. Gray, 1857).

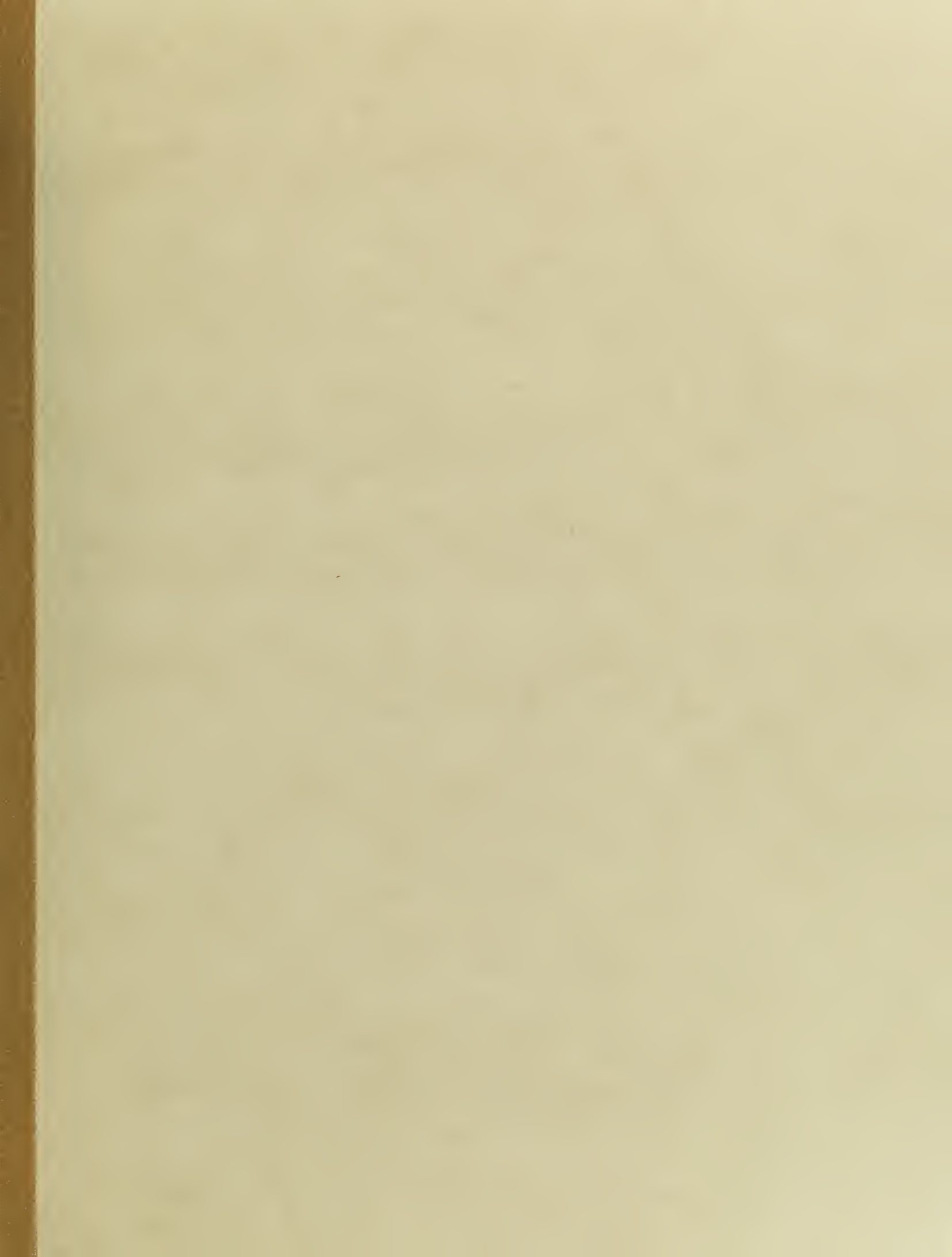
The American Missionary republished this important antislavery resolution of the Executive Committee, slyly remarking that its original publication in the Congregational Herald (Jan. 29, 1857) had been "premature." The A. M. A. did not conceal its lack of faith that the resolution, owing to an ambiguity of language, would be carried out by the A. H. M. S. American Missionary, n. s., I (April, 1857), 82-85. The Congregational Herald, more sanguine, believed editorially that the New School Presbyterian General Assembly (soon to be in session at Cleveland, O.) would act to disfellowship all slaveholding church members. Congregational Herald, May 7, 1857.

155. Lewis Tappan to David B. Coe, New York, N. Y., Feb. 4, 1857; Coe to Tappan, New York, N. Y., Feb. 6, 1857. (A. H. M. S. Letter Books, 1856/1857, Vol. II, No. 2042.) Coe mentioned the relationships obtaining between the two Pattons and the Congregational Herald. See also Milton Badger to William Salter, New York, N. Y., Nov. 26, 1856; same to same, April 20, 1857. (A. H. M. S. Letter Books, 1856/1857, Nos. 1525, 2653.) The Free Presbyterian for March 11, 1857, carried the following editorial: "Thus the hitherto conservative and proslavery religious organizations of the country come, step by step, towards the position of the free churches and free mission societies. In this fact the latter organizations find the fullest vindication of their course, which has heretofore exposed them to much misrepresentation and reproach!" (Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.)

156. Minutes of the General Assembly (New School), 1857, pp. 401-404. See the Congregational Herald for the resolutions, debates, and comment upon the action of the General Assembly, in its issues of June 4th and June 11th, 1857. See also the Free Presbyterian, June 17, 1857.

157. Thomas Cary Johnson, "A Brief Sketch of the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," in Papers of the American Society of Church History, VIII (1897), pp. 1-38.

158. Minutes of the General Assembly (New School), 1861, pp. 465, 466-469.
159. A. H. M. S. Report, 1862, pp. 93-94.
160. Don W. Holter, "The Beginnings of Protestantism in Trans-Missouri," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1934, enlarges on the Kansas struggle.



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